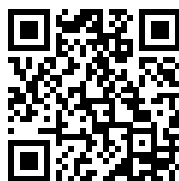

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P12-57

INVESTIGATION OF STATEMENTS MADE
BY DR. WILLIAM A. WIRT,

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

TO INVESTIGATE CHARGES MADE BY

DR. WILLIAM A. WIRT

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H.Res. 317, . . .

A RESOLUTION TO CREATE A SELECT COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE CERTAIN STATEMENTS MADE
BY ONE DR. WILLIAM A. WIRT, AND
FOR OTHER PURPOSES

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~~Wirt, Dr. William A.,~~
~~Committee to Investigate~~
~~Charges Made by...~~

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SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE CHARGES MADE BY
DR. WILLIAM A. WIRT

ALFRED L. BULWINKLE, North Carolina, *Chairman*

HAROLD McTUGGIN, Kansas

JOHN J. O'CONNOR, New York

FREDERICK R. LEHLBACH, New Jersey

WILLIAM W. ARNOLD, Illinois

II

we are all in it together



INVESTIGATION OF STATEMENTS MADE BY DR. WILLIAM A. WIRT

TUESDAY, APRIL 10, 1934

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE CHARGES
MADE BY DR. WILLIAM A. WIRT,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met at 10 a.m., Hon. Alfred L. Bulwinkle (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please be in order.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARNOLD. Mr. Chairman, I offer for the record the resolution under which we are proceeding, as well as the subpoena and the return thereof, and certain letters and telegrams passing between William Wirt and the chairman of the committee.

I think it would be well to read this resolution for the record at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will read the resolution.

(The resolution, H.Res. 317, is as follows:)

HOUSE RESOLUTION 317

Resolved, That there is hereby created a select committee to be composed of 5 Members of the House, to be appointed by the Speaker, 1 of whom he shall designate as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointment was made.

SEC. 2. The committee is authorized and directed to summon Dr. William A. Wirt, of Gary, Ind., before it, and to require him to reveal the source of statements he has made to the effect that the United States is in the process "of a deliberately planned revolution", and to the effect that certain officials or employees of the Government are attempting to thwart the program of national recovery in the United States; and the committee is authorized and directed to bring before it all officials or other persons alleged by Dr. Wirt to have given him said information, or to be connected in any way with said activities, and to examine them as to the truth or falsity of the statements made by Dr. Wirt; and to summon and examine such other witnesses and make such further investigation in connection with such statements and the reasons and persons actuating the same as the committee in its discretion may deem advisable.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report to the House during the present session of Congress the results of its investigation, together with such recommendations, including such recommendations for legislation, as it deems advisable.

SEC. 4. For the purpose of this resolution the committee is authorized to sit and act during the present session of Congress in the District of Columbia, as a whole or by subcommittee, at such times, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, by subpoena or otherwise, to take such testimony, to have such printing and binding done, and to make such expenditures not in excess of amounts made available for the purposes of this resolution, as it deems necessary. Subpenas shall be issued under the signature of the chairman and shall be served by any person designated by him. The chairman of the committee, or any member thereof, may administer oaths to witnesses. Every person who, having been summoned as a witness by

authority of said committee, or any subcommittee thereof, willfully makes default, or who, having appeared, refuses to answer any question pertinent to the investigation heretofore authorized, shall be held to the penalties provided by section 102 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

(The documents offered for the record by Mr. Arnold are as follows:)

[Government message]

WASHINGTON, D.C., April 5, 1934.

Mr. WILLIAM WIRT,
Gary, Ind.:

Advise immediately if you will accept service of summons and be present at congressional hearing, House Office Building, Washington, at 10 o'clock Tuesday morning, April 10.

A. L. BULWINKLE,
Chairman Select Committee, House of Representatives.

GARY, IND., April 5, 1934.

A. L. BULWINKLE,
Chairman Select Committee, House of Representatives:

Kindly send me official copy of House resolution and also anything you can give me concerning committee's plan of procedure. Press reports indicate that investigation is to be limited to my testimony. If this is true I must have reasonable time to prepare for such responsibility. Anxious to appear as soon as possible, but feel I need 10 days' time for preparation after I know plan of procedure.

WILLIAM WIRT.

[Telegram]

GARY, IND., April 5, 1934.

A. L. BULWINKLE,
Chairman Select Committee, House of Representatives:

Mr. Wirt out of town. Returning tomorrow. Will answer your wire then.
MILDRED HARTER WIRT.
(Mrs. William Wirt.)

[Telegram]

CHICAGO, ILL., April 6, 1934.

Hon. A. L. BULWINKLE,
Chairman Select Committee, House of Representatives:

Accept telegram of April 5 as service of subpoena for hearing as a witness before Select Committee, House of Representatives. Will be present at committee room 10 a.m. April 10.

WILLIAM A. WIRT.

APRIL 5, 1934.

Dr. WILLIAM A. WIRT,
Gary, Ind.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed find copy of telegram which I forwarded to you this afternoon.

At the organization of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives, the following resolution was adopted:

"That at the first meeting of the committee, the proceedings be confined to an examination, under oath, of Dr. William A. Wirt, as to the names and addresses of the person or persons whom he claims made to him any or all of the statements read before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee by James H. Rand, Jr., and the places and occasions of said statements, and the names and addresses of all persons present on said occasion, and the exact language or substance of said statements.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) A. L. BULWINKLE,
Chairman of Select Committee, House of Representatives.

(A copy of the subpoena and the return thereof are as follows:)

BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To the SERGEANT AT ARMS, OR HIS SPECIAL MESSENGER:

You are hereby commanded to summon Dr. William A. Wirt of Gary, Ind., to be and appear before the Special Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, of which the Honorable A. L. Bulwinkle is chairman, in the caucus room, New House Office Building (hearing room of Ways and Means Committee) in their chamber in the city of Washington, on the 10th day of April 1934, at the hour of 10 a.m., then and there to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee; and he is not to depart without leave of said committee.

Herein fail not, and make return of this summons.

Witness my hand and the seal of the House of Representatives of the United States, at the city of Washington, this 6th day of April 1934.

HENRY T. RAINEY, *Speaker*.

Attest:

SOUTH TRIMBLE, *Clerk*.

Subpena for Dr. William A. Wirt of Gary, Ind., before the Committee on the Special Investigation of the House of Representatives.

Served by reading the within subpoena and delivering a copy thereof to Dr. William A. Wirt at 9:55 a.m., April 10, 1934.

KENNETH ROMNEY,
Sergeant at Arms, House of Representatives.

Mr. REED. I am asking the privilege of appearing here in behalf of Dr. Wirt to say to the committee the doctor is here and prepared to answer any questions that may be put to him that are pertinent to the resolution. Dr. Wirt, will you come forward please?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state to the distinguished Senator that while his presence is welcomed here, yet in an investigation of this character in which Dr. Wirt is merely here as a witness, the committee is not of the opinion that Dr. Wirt is entitled to counsel. We will be glad to have him sit and advise Dr. Wirt as a friend, but he cannot appear in this committee as counsel.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I move that Dr. Wirt be permitted to have as his counsel the Honorable James A. Reed, of Missouri.

Mr. LEHLBACH. On that motion I desire to remark that it is not only customary but usual for persons appearing for questioning before committees of Congress to be represented by counsel, and the statement that Dr. Wirt is simply a witness has no weight whatsoever, because no one ever has appeared before a committee of either House of Congress in any other capacity.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will put the motion of the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. McGugin.

Mr. MCGUGIN. On that I ask a roll call.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I desire to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Connor, of New York.

Mr. O'CONNOR. It was not clear what the request of the distinguished Senator was. If he means by appearing before this committee, examining and participating in the proceedings, I contend that it has never been the practice of any legislative committee to permit that to be done. The committee could possibly permit it to be done, but it is not the practice. The committee, as I understand, proposes to examine Dr. Wirt, and if the Senator has in mind that he might participate in the examination I do not believe the proper function of the committee would be served.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will put the motion of the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. MCGUGIN. On that I ask that the roll of the committee be called.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York.

Mr. O'CONNOR. May I ask this; the Senator has not definitely stated, to my mind, what his purpose is here. Is it the Senator's purpose to take part in the examination of the witnesses that might be called before us today or simply to sit in an advisory capacity to the doctor.

Mr. REED. Mr. Chairman, I should be glad to answer that if these lights can be turned off. It is impossible to look into them.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will call to the attention of the photographers that they must move now. The proceedings of the committee must go on.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I move that immediately after this statement by the Senator, the photographing cease.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Reed, since the photographers have moved, will you answer the question?

Mr. REED. I have sat in a good many investigations myself, and never was a witness denied having his counsel sit by him. It is quite true that generally the committees ask most of the questions, but if it was necessary to ask a question to elucidate a matter, that privilege has always been accorded, as far as I know, to counsel.

Now, there is a particular reason why I think that Dr. Wirt is entitled to counsel here. There have been a good many statements made, at least in the press, to the effect that something terrible is going to happen to Dr. Wirt if he does not do certain things and make certain disclosures. That is a little unusual, particularly when a man has shown no possible disinclination to make full disclosures. Also I am asking the privilege of sitting here before you, and I am sure I will conduct myself so that the committee will have no complaints. I am now asking privilege of Dr. Wirt to have the usual courtesy to be permitted to make a statement of this entire matter, and I am sure it will be very much of value in elucidating the questions under consideration. After that, of course he will answer any questions that you ask. He will answer them now if the committee insists, but I do ask for him that he be accorded that privilege.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will pardon me, the committee has already decided the line of procedure at this hearing.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Upon further consideration I think the committee will reasonably and fairly conclude that no different procedure should be adopted here than the procedure that is usual, and well-nigh universal, in all committee hearings of either House of Congress, and I therefore move that—

The CHAIRMAN (interrupting). The Chair reminds the gentleman from New Jersey there is one motion already before us.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I move a substitute to the motion of the gentleman from Kansas. I move that Senator Reed be permitted to be here as counsel for the witness and advise with him,

but that Senator Reed cannot be permitted to ask any questions except by submitting them to the Chairman who will propound them.

Mr. McGUGIN. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. McGUGIN. The substitute motion just made by the gentleman from New York is most extraordinary. There is not any reason why we should not proceed here in the usual American manner as is done when counsel is present, and permit counsel to do all of those things ordinarily done by American counsel in American procedures. There is no reason for restricting counsel, and I hope the committee will vote down the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New York.

Mr. McGUGIN. I ask the roll call on the motion.

(The motion was agreed to.)

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is on the original motion as amended. The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, at a meeting held by this committee on April 5, I made the following motion which was adopted to wit:

Mr. Chairman, I move that at the first meeting of this committee the proceedings be confined to an examination under oath of Dr. Wirt as to the names and addresses of the person or persons whom he claims made to him any or all of the statements read before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee by James H. Rand, Jr., and the places and occasions of said statements and the names and addresses of all persons present on said occasions and the exact language or substance of said statements.

Mr. LEHLBACH. As I said before, I think that in fairness and in the interest of orderly and usual procedure, the committee on reflection will see fit to rescind the action taken on April 5, and proceed in the manner which is in accordance with precedent and custom in proceedings before committees of this kind. I therefore move that such action be rescinded.

Mr. O'CONNOR. This matter was thoroughly discussed at a meeting of this committee, and this committee took this action after due deliberation. It has already been adopted.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I moved to rescind the action.

Mr. McGUGIN. The proceedings of the committee at a previous executive meeting, when this motion was adopted limiting the procedure of this meeting to questions to and answers from Dr. Wirt, was adopted over the strenuous objections of the two minority members. We take the position that it is without precedent that any witness before a congressional committee, House or Senate, is denied the opportunity to make his opening statement. We take the position that the only interpretation which can be placed upon this committee's adopting in the first instance and now sustaining this extraordinary gag motion is that the committee is taking the position of wanting to suppress information, rather than to bring information out to the public. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, in common fairness—

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I make the point that the member is out of order, that this motion, if there is a motion pending, is not debatable, and insist that the Chair put the motion; it is a motion to reconsider.

Mr. McGUGIN. It is not a motion to reconsider. I would not have the power to make a motion to reconsider; it is a motion to rescind.

The only interpretation that can be placed upon the conduct of this committee in denying to Dr. Wirt the same courtesy that is universally extended to witnesses appearing before congressional committees is that we are not wanting to bring out the full truth. I therefore appeal to this committee to rescind this gag motion that was adopted at a previous meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Kansas that on Saturday, March 24, the gentleman from Kansas, in a speech in Congress in the House of Representatives, made this statement, and this resolution follows exactly along the statement made by the gentleman from Kansas. "If Dr. Wirt's statement is not true, the people, the President, and the Congress, have the right to know that Dr. Wirt slandered the Government and someone connected with the Government. If his statement is true, the President, the Congress, and the country have the right to know the name of the arch traitor to the Republic who made such a statement to Dr. Wirt."

The Chair will put the motion.

Mr. McGUGIN. Mr. Chairman, am I to be denied the opportunity to answer what you brought up here? If so, it is only another "gag" ruling.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will put the motion.

Mr. REED. Will the Chair not indulge me for an humble inquiry?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would be delighted.

Mr. REED. What reason is there for denying the right to make a full statement? What is there about this case or this witness that demands an advance hearing by this committee, an advance regulation and rule by the committee of an extraordinary kind? All that we ask is the privilege to make a full and clear and complete statement, giving the authors of these remarks, the surroundings under which they were made, and the conditions under which these remarks and these statements were made to Dr. Wirt, and to back them up with other evidence which we think sustains them.

Now, why should there be a special rule that a man is to be asked a certain question in a certain way and that he must answer them, and why should the statements go out in the press that if he does not answer them he will be brought before the bar of the House?

What I am appealing for, and I am doing this with the utmost respect for this committee—what I am appealing for is this: Though this may be a time of excitement, though this may be a time when the statement made by Dr. Wirt may be regarded as very serious, still that is all the more reason to afford the fullest opportunity for a complete statement regarding this matter.

Now, Dr. Wirt has a statement here that it will not take 10 minutes to read, and I am asking on behalf of this witness, I am asking as an American citizen, and I am asking as a member of this bar and as a former member of these bodies, the right of a man, an American citizen, to speak.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman will state to the distinguished Senator that he is ready to answer the inquiry of the Senator. The Chairman recognizes the gentleman from New York.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, all that this resolution does is to provide for the procedure of the committee at this hearing. It does not necessarily foreclose the witness from making a statement there-

after, if the committee sees fit to hear him. But it was the opinion of the committee that there should be asked specific questions first, the reason for which has arisen because of statements made before another committee of this House. That is the procedure of the committee, as I understand it, duly adopted, that these questions be asked first and then the committee will determine whether or not it will hear a statement from the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. MCGUGIN. On that I ask the ayes and noes.

The CHAIRMAN. The ayes and noes are demanded. The secretary will call the roll.

(The secretary called the roll, and there were 3 noes and 2 ayes.)
(So the motion was defeated.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will call Dr. William Wirt.

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM A. WIRT

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please state your name?

Dr. WIRT. William A. Wirt.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Dr. WIRT. Gary, Ind.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you resided there?

Dr. WIRT. Twenty-six years.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business?

Dr. WIRT. Superintendent of the public schools.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been so engaged as superintendent or teacher in the public schools?

Dr. WIRT. About 40 years.

The CHAIRMAN. On March 23, 1934, one James Rand, Jr., chairman of the Committee of the Nation, proposed to read and did read before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives part of a manuscript or memorandum alleged to have been written by you. I show you this memorandum and ask if you wrote it [handing memorandum to the witness]?

Dr. WIRT. This statement is written entirely by me.

The CHAIRMAN. I now ask the official reporter to mark that statement as exhibit A for identification.

(The statement referred to was thereupon marked "Exhibit A" for identification on this date.)

The CHAIRMAN. To whom did you send that statement or memorandum or manuscript or one similar to it, Dr. Wirt?

Dr. WIRT. I sent out about a hundred copies to various individuals, some newspapers and others, who had been interested in similar releases of mine during the past 3 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, when did you send that out?

Dr. WIRT. About 1 week, as I remember it, before the statement was filed with the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What, if any, communication or letter did you send accompanying it?

Dr. WIRT. I asked the gentlemen to read it and inform me as to what their reaction was to it. I made the statement that it was not for publication but that I was interested in securing the facts concerning the present trend in government.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, can you call the names, or have you a list of the names, of the people to whom you sent it?

Dr. WIRT. I have such a list, but I do not have it here. I can recall some of the names.

The CHAIRMAN. Mention a few of them that you can recall.

Dr. WIRT. Henry Pope, of Chicago.

Gen. Robert E. Wood, of Chicago, president of Sears, Roebuck & Co.

James P. Goodrich, of Indiana, former Governor of Indiana.

The Public Ledger, of Philadelphia.

Dr. Finley, associate editor of the New York Times.

The Chicago Tribune.

The Chicago Daily News.

The Chicago Record-Herald.

The Chicago Times.

I would not be able to say definitely what other papers, but the papers that had given me any evidence of being interested in this problem, due to their acknowledging and discussing the questions formerly sent out by me in similar statements.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requests that at a later date you furnish the committee with a complete list of the names of the people to whom you sent this statement.

Dr. WIRT. I shall be very glad to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, I have marked on page 13 of this manuscript, commencing with the words "Plan of Revolutionists", the remainder of page 13, all of page 14, and on page 15 down to the words, but not including them, "The Nation and selfish groups."

This is the part of the statement which was read on Friday, March 23, by Mr. Rand, before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House.

I will ask that that part of the statement be made a part of the record.

PLAN OF REVOLUTIONISTS

The fundamental trouble with the "brain trusters" is that they start with a false assumption. They insist that the America of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln must first be destroyed and then on the ruins they will reconstruct an America after their own pattern. They do not know that the America of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln has been the "new deal" and that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we have been making great social progress. The common man is getting his place in the sun. Why try to put him back into the Dark Ages?

Last summer I asked some of the individuals in this group what their concrete plan was for bringing on the proposed overthrow of the established American social order.

I was told that they believed that by thwarting our then-evident recovery they would be able to prolong the country's destitution until they had demonstrated to the American people that the Government must operate industry and commerce. I was told that of course commercial banks could not make long-time capital loans and that they would be able to destroy, by propaganda, the other institutions that had been making our capital loans. Then we can push Uncle Sam into the position where he must make these capital loans. And, of course, when Uncle Sam becomes our financier he must also follow his money with control and management.

ROOSEVELT ONLY THE KERENSKY

The most surprising statement made to me was the following: "We believe that we have Mr. Roosevelt in the middle of a swift stream and that the current is so strong that he cannot turn back or escape from it. We believe that we can keep Mr. Roosevelt there until we are ready to supplant him with a Stalin. We all think that Mr. Roosevelt is only the Kerensky of this revolution."

When I asked why the President would not see through this scheme, they replied: "We are on the inside. We can control the avenues of influence. We can make the President believe that he is making decisions for himself." They said, "A leader must appear to be a strong man of action. He must make decisions and many times make them quickly, whether good or bad. Soon he will feel a superhuman flow of power from the flow of the decisions themselves—good or bad. Eventually he can easily be displaced because of his bad decisions. With Mr. Roosevelt's background we do not expect him to see this revolution through." They said that [portion of ms. deleted]. Such individuals can be induced to kindle the fires of revolution. But strong men must take their place when the country is once engulfed in flames.

I asked how they would explain to the American people why their plans for retarding the recovery were not restoring recovery. "Oh!" they said, "That would be easy." All that they would need to do would be to point the finger of scorn at the traitorous opposition. These traitors in the imaginary war against the depression would be made the goats. And the American people would agree that they, the brain trusters, had been too lenient and in the future they, the brain trusters, should be more firm in dealing with the opposition.

Thus they, the brain trusters, would soon be able to use the police power of the Government and "crack down" on the opposition with a big stick. In the meantime they would extend the gloved hand and keep the "big stick" in the background.

POWER OF PROPAGANDA

I was frankly told that I underestimated the power of propaganda. That since the World War propaganda had been developed into a science. That they could make the newspapers and magazines beg for mercy by threatening to take away much of their advertising by a measure to compel only the unvarnished truth in advertising. That they could make the financiers be good by showing up at public investigations the crooks in the game. And that the power of public investigation in their own hands alone would make the cold chills run up and down the spines of the other business leaders and politicians—honest men as well as crooks.

They were sure that they could depend upon the psychology of empty stomachs, and they would keep them empty. The masses would soon agree that anything should be done rather than nothing. Any escape from present miseries would be welcomed even though it should turn out to be another misery.

They were sure that the leaders of industry and labor could be kept quiet by the hope of getting their own share of the Government doles in the form of loans and contracts for material and labor, provided they were subservient.

They were sure that the colleges and schools could be kept in line by the hope of Federal aid until the many "new dealers" in the schools and colleges had control of them.

They were sure that their propaganda could inflame the masses against the old social order and the honest men as well as the crooks that represent that order—communism.

I asked what they would do when the Government could no longer dole out relief in the grand manner. By that time, it was answered, the oft-repeated exhortation to industry and commerce to make jobs out of confidence and to produce goods and pay wages out of psychology, together with their other propaganda, would have won the people to the idea that the only way out was for Government itself to operate industry and commerce.

They were certain that they did not want to operate agriculture for a long time. But the farmers could be won by doles to support Government operation of industry and commerce. Farmers would be delighted to get their hands in the public trough for once in the history of the country. The farmers would be one with the masses—united for a redistribution of the wealth of the other fellow. All that they would need to do with the opposition would be to ask, "Well, what s your plan?"

The CHAIRMAN. Are you personally acquainted with Mr. Rand?

Dr. WIRT. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you known him?

Dr. WIRT. About 1 year and a half.

The CHAIRMAN. What association, if any, have you had with him?

Dr. WIRT. I have met him on numerous occasions with the study groups of the committee for the Nation.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you communicate with Mr. Rand prior to March 23, 1934?

Dr. WIRT. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. In what manner?

Dr. WIRT. By submitting 4 or 5 similar statements concerning the recovery program of the Nation, such statements beginning about a year and a half ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, did you communicate with Mr. Rand on Friday, March 23, 1934, by telephone, prior to his appearance before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House?

Dr. WIRT. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. What communication or conversation did you have with him at that time?

Dr. WIRT. Mr. Rand asked me if he might read from the manuscript which I had sent him approximately 1 week before, my statement concerning the intellectual radicals and their relation to the Government's recovery program and the overthrow of the present social order.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Rand tell you where he was going to read this manuscript?

Dr. WIRT. He did.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the morning before the meeting of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce?

Dr. WIRT. That is as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, if you will examine that portion of the manuscript which I have marked, you will note that you stated on page 13 that you "asked some of the individuals in this group what their concrete plan was for bringing on the proposed overthrow of the established American social order." Is that correct, sir?

Dr. WIRT. It is.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were those persons?

Dr. WIRT. They were a group of individuals present at a dinner in Virginia, near Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that dinner, Doctor?

Dr. WIRT. As I remember it, it was on Friday evening, September 1.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were present then?

Dr. WIRT. Robert Breuere, chairman of the Textile Code Advisory Board, or some such name as that.

Mr. McGUGIN. What is the name?

Dr. WIRT. Robert Breuere.

David Cushman Coyle, member of the technical review board of the Public Works Administration, as I remember it.

Laurence Todd, representative of the Tass Agency, press representative for the Soviet Government, as I understand it.

Hildegard Kneeland, from the Home Economics Department of the Department of Agriculture.

Mary Taylor, an economist in the "Triple-A" division of the Department of Agriculture.

Alice Barrows, of the Department of Education.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else, Doctor?

Dr. WIRT. As far as I remember, that includes the entire list.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was this dinner?

Dr. WIRT. In the home of Alice Barrows, across the river in Virginia, not very far from Washington. I cannot give you the exact location. It was a sort of country home.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you do not recollect whether there were any others present or not?

Dr. WIRT. As far as I know, there were no others present.

The CHAIRMAN. Are these six that you name here the ones that you refer to on pages marked from 13 to 15, inclusive, when you refer to "they" in the entire statement?

Dr. WIRT. Not exclusively. That is only a part of the persons with whom I talked at that time. I have my evidence divided into three parts. I consider that part 1. Part 1 is significant, not from the standpoint of these Government employees, but it is significant from the standpoint of finding out what the main idea is.

The CHAIRMAN. What was said on this occasion at the dinner in Virginia on Friday, September 1, and by whom?

Dr. WIRT. I have this manuscript divided into chapters. This particular chapter, including these special references, is under the general chapter of "futile effort." The first paragraph—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute please. I want an answer to my question.

Dr. WIRT. I intend to do so very definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you this question: On Friday, September 1, at a dinner in Virginia at which you and six others were present, what was the conversation that ensued between you and those six?

Dr. WIRT. That is exactly, Mr. Congressman, what I am trying to tell the committee. I have personally great respect for this committee, and I would like to say here that if these charges of mine are disproved I will be one of the happiest men in this entire country. (Applause.) I have no purpose in concealing anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please answer my question?

Dr. WIRT. I will.

The CHAIRMAN. Give the exact conversation, from your recollection.

Dr. WIRT. I will. I made a statement concerning the recovery that the American people had had from April 19 until the 1st of August. I stated that that recovery was three times as great as any similar recovery in the entire history of America in a similar period; that the condition of business during the middle of August of that year had reached the point of 82 percent, which was only 17 percent below normal. I agree that I did a great deal of talking, because I was making a futile effort to try to put over to this particular group, as I had before to many other groups, and referred at this particular time to the fact that I had had conversations with rather representative groups of the executives of the American Federation of Labor in their building here in Washington, and that I had discussed the matter with those gentlemen for an entire afternoon, and with others at other times, that the great purpose in America during that period was to get back our jobs and get back business activity; and then after we had secured that type of recovery, that we should go on with our industrial reforms. I am in favor of social reforms. I am not a Bourbon. I believe that these statements ought to be brought out.

These particular people, when I presented that statement regarding the American Federation of Labor, replied:

Are you the man who committed the crime of trying to convert the leaders of the American Federation of Labor to the idea that we should go back to the conditions of 1926?

The CHAIRMAN. Who said that, now—who made that statement?

Dr. WIRT. Hildegard Kneeland.

The CHAIRMAN. Instead of saying "they", Doctor, for the benefit of the committee, name each particular one, and the conversation that they had, if you can.

Dr. WIRT. I will do that to the best of my ability. This honorable committee understands that it would be impossible for any individual to quote verbatim these months after. You will understand that in an after-dinner discussion lasting probably 3 hours or more, naturally you will have a great many statements; and some of them would refer as a summary of what they said, rather than what some one individual said. But I will oblige the honorable committee to the best of my ability.

My answer to Hildegard Kneeland was, I certainly did believe that we should go back and welcome the opportunity to get back to the conditions of 1926; that in my judgment in no country at any time in the history of the world had the common man enjoyed as many advantages as the common man in the United States enjoyed at that time. And I thought that that should be the primary purpose of our Government—to help us to get back to that condition; and that in fact we were back then to within 17 percent of the normal business activity of this country.

Mr. ARNOLD. The object of this inquiry, as I understand, is to ascertain what these people said to Dr. Wirt. We are not so much interested in Dr. Wirt's philosophy of a social order or of government, but the purpose of this inquiry is to ascertain what those people said to Dr. Wirt. I think, Mr. Chairman, that the witness should confine himself to the statements within the purview of the resolution under which we are proceeding.

Mr. LEHLBACH. The question put to the witness was to state as near as he can recollect the conversation that took place on that occasion, and in order to intelligently understand what these people said to him it is necessary for him to say what he said to them; the entire conversation ought to be stated and in fact was asked for by the chairman in the question which the witness is now answering.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, may I say to the witness there have been put into the record certain statements read by Mr. Rand starting under the head "Plan for a Revolution", and that at the moment is all the inquiry of this committee is directed at. You have gone back to a previous matter, I think under the heading of "Futile Efforts", which is not now before this committee. These statements made to you by these people you have referred to were under the heading "Plan of Revolution"; is not that the fact?

Dr. WIRT. I will answer that if I have a chance.

The CHAIRMAN. In order to correct this the chairman requested of the witness to state the conversation that ensued at the supper in Virginia on Friday, September 1. The Chair had previously asked the witness who made the statement designated in the manuscript, and then the Chair asked the second question to state the conversa-

tion that ensued at that time between the so-called "brain trusters" you named.

Mr. REED. And that, I submit, is exactly what the witness was trying to do.

Dr. WIRT. I may have gone a little afield.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will ask the witness to get down to the conversation that ensued as quickly as possible. All right, proceed.

Dr. WIRT. Do you want me to answer your question?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I thought you had gone far afield on this statement read by Dr. Rand.

Dr. WIRT. I would like to state I may be mistaken, but my understanding was that this entire manuscript was filed with this Interstate Commerce Committee and I was identifying it.

The CHAIRMAN. No; that is not correct.

Dr. WIRT. The thing I am trying to say relates specifically to these particular sections which your honorable committee has just pointed out, and concerning which you just asked me, and I was trying to give you my answer to the statement of Miss Kneeland at that particular dinner concerning those particular matters. I tried to point out to that group, as I have pointed out in the manuscript, that agriculture in this country had had this tremendous increase so that on July 15 Collier's Weekly published an article by a special correspondent with the title of "The Farmer is Whistling." My point in answering that question was, what is your purpose therefor and what is your ideal of what the main purpose is of the Government program in relation to the fact that we had had this recovery in such a marked degree up until that time? The answer given to me was that in our group—

The CHAIRMAN. (interrupting). Who gave you that answer?

Dr. WIRT. Miss Kneeland. The answer was that—

Our group takes the leadership and recognizes the leadership of Dr. Tugwell. We are in the Department of Agriculture, and Henry A. Wallace expressed the viewpoint that we believed in.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Kneeland said that?

Dr. WIRT. Yes; and in the opinion of Dr. Tugwell the so-called "recovery" was an illusion, it was a speculation, and if he had had power he would have closed the commodity and the stock exchanges. That was one statement, but I have here a printed statement sent out only about 6 weeks ago by Dr. Tugwell himself, stating that same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will have to confine the witness to the conversation at that time and not to any writing since that time.

Dr. WIRT. I beg pardon; thank you.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Mr. Chairman, are you going to let the witness bring to our attention anything that occurred since that will substantiate what he says?

The CHAIRMAN. At the present time I will remind the gentleman from Kansas the chairman is asking these questions and the chairman is following the line he wishes.

Mr. MCGUGIN. That is not getting the whole information.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is wrong, as usual. Proceed, Doctor. Did she identify anyone else in the group at that time?

Dr. WIRT. No one other than Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, and his first assistant, Dr. Tugwell.

Then the question led to what is their viewpoint as you understand it, what is the thing for which you stand. My purpose is to find out what the main ideal is, and I would like to know what the purpose, and what the plan is. These are the things that were referred to, and I will follow the pleasure of the committee. I know that I can make a pithy, concrete summary of an elaborate scientific statement that will appeal to the emotions, but I do not want to do that. I would like to read just a cold bare scientific statement, if you will give me that permission, to which they referred at that time. Do I have it?

The CHAIRMAN. Who said it, Doctor?

Dr. WIRT. These two ladies, and it is corroborated by some other people present.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the two ladies?

Dr. Wirt. Miss Taylor and Miss Kneeland.

The CHAIRMAN. Now state what they said, as well as you can.

Dr. WIRT. We were trying to find out what the main purpose of Henry A. Wallace and of Tugwell was at that time, and they referred to statements of this type. Do you want me to summarize those statements or shall I give them so that you can check them accurately?

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to impress upon you we want the conversation that passed between you and these certain people that night, as referred to on pages 13 to 15 of your manuscript.

Mr. LEHLBACH. With respect to the paper the Doctor is holding in his hands, I wish to ask whether after this dinner was over at a time when the conversations were fresh in his mind, he wrote them in memorandum form and whether that memorandum is the paper he has before him?

Dr. WIRT. It is not. I did try to fix that in mind, and at the same time I had some discussions with another group I will come to as soon as I get through with this group.

The CHAIRMAN. We will just consider this group at the present time.

Dr. WIRT. The first general summary of Tugwell's philosophy is stated by him in an article published—

The CHAIRMAN (interrupting). Just a minute, Doctor.

Dr. WIRT. I am giving a summary of these particular persons as a part of this conversation.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone at that particular meeting use the expression of the first general summary of Dr. Tugwell's statement?

Dr. WIRT. I beg pardon, I put that in myself as the first general summary that I want to give.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to get in not what you put in but what these witnesses said to you that night.

Dr. WIRT. I stand a correction, and I beg your pardon. I will omit the words of the first general summary and I will simply say that the one summary of the statement by Dr. Tugwell only a short time, possibly a year before, was this.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, I am asking for the conversation.

Dr. WIRT. That was discussed there at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to get a responsive answer to my question.

Dr. WIRT. Will you repeat it please.

The CHAIRMAN. What conversation ensued with you and these six persons on the night of September 1 at a supper in Virginia in which

that part of your manuscript is from pages 13 to 15 which is marked, was alluded to?

Mr. LEHLBACH. In answer to that the witness has just said that the subject matter of that conversation was the summary of Dr. Tugwell which was alluded to in the conversation, and he was about to go on and say what was their comments were on that summary, which is the conversation you are asking for.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to find out who said this, and who said that, and not "they." Go ahead, Doctor.

Dr. WIRT. It was given in answer to my question, by Miss Kneeland, that Dr. Tugwell had said that we must first undo a century or more of development, and that he had also said—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, was that statement made to you at this supper?

Dr. WIRT. It was a part of this conversation. That he had also made the statement in this publication that the untangling—I am not trying to read it to you, I am trying to give you exactly what was said to me—that the untangling and removing of these barriers resulting from a century or more of effort will be almost like the dispensing of civilization itself. Another general statement was this specifically setting out what the first changes would have to be.

The CHAIRMAN. Who made that statement?

Dr. WIRT. Miss Kneeland made these statements. They said that the first series of changes will have to do with statutes and with constitutions and with the Government, that the intention of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was to instill and protect the principle of conflict.

Then the statement was made—

The CHAIRMAN. Who made it?

Dr. WIRT. Miss Kneeland; according to Dr. Tugwell, if we begin to plan we shall be changing once and for all and it will require the laying on of rough, unholy hands, on many a sacred precedent, and doubtless it would call for a greatly enlarged police enforcement department of the Federal Government.

The next series of statements, as I remember it, by the same person, was that the changes would have to do with industry itself and that Dr. Tugwell had suggested that business will logically be required to disappear; that he also had pointed out definitely in these statements that this statement that business will be required logically to disappear was not an overstatement for the sake of emphasis, but was literally meant.

Another statement that was made following that by the same person was this (and it was referring to Dr. Tugwell): That it is a logical impossibility to have a planned economy and to have business operating the country's industries, just as it is also impossible to have one—referring as I understood it to a planned economy—within our present constitutional and statutory structures.

Then the statement was added, still quoting Dr. Tugwell or referring to him—my check shows that it was a very exact quote—modifications in both so serious as to mean destruction and rebeginning are required.

Mr. McGUGIN. What was meant by "both" there?

Dr. WIRT. My understanding was that it meant the preceding statements; that it was a logical impossibility to have a planned

economy and to have business operating its industries, and the second was, an absolute impossibility to have a planned economy within our present constitutional and statutory structures.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, right at that point, am I to understand that Miss Kneeland just quoted Dr. Tugwell? Did she have anything to say for herself?

Dr. WIRT. She was trying to give to me what the main idea was of her group.

I would like to say this, that the statement was made before me along about the same time by Mr. Laurence Todd—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a moment; do you mean at this same meeting?

Dr. WIRT. At this same meeting; in order to explain to you why this matter comes in. The statement was made, "Why don't we do something really worth while? The things we are doing so far are rather trivial." Miss Kneeland replied, "Yes, why don't we? There are so many people of our group here now in the Government and many of them in key positions. Why don't we do something worth while?" And I pressed the question to find out, what is the main idea that we ought to be doing. Where are we headed?

Now may I proceed, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Dr. WIRT. Some of the other things brought out as given by Dr. Tugwell and by Henry A. Wallace—

The CHAIRMAN. Who is talking now? Who is talking at this meeting now?

Dr. WIRT. Still Miss Kneeland. Most of us—trying to quote Dr. Tugwell, and I am trying to summarize the substance of that statement to me concerning Dr. Tugwell's philosophy as representing this group. The reference was made that many people—I think the actual words were "most of us" have been quite free to predict that the institutions of Soviet Russia would break down because of their failure to have a profit motive in the management of their business and their industries, and that even today some of us go on saying that, in the face of the real evidence in the matter.

Another similar statement that was made was this, that the people who are advocating planning should realize—

The CHAIRMAN. Who made that statement?

Dr. WIRT. Still Miss Kneeland—quite finally that everything will be changed if the linking of industry can finally be brought to completion in a plan.

And then it was pointed out that we had gone quite a long way and that we now had approached the final step in that development and that that final step was relatively a short one, and that we were now considering crossing that threshold.

Those were the words quoted by this person from Dr. Tugwell's statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Kneeland still quoting?

Dr. WIRT. Miss Kneeland, yes. Another statement was:

Planning will have to be a function of the Federal Government or if it is not the planning agency will have to take over the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Who made that statement?

Dr. WIRT. The same person. Another statement was that:

This final step that we would have to take would involve principally the American people having to learn how to meet the issue and support the dis-

cipline that might be necessary, and that if we accepted the principle of planning that we must understand it will imply the complete destruction of business as we know it in connection—

As I remember it—

with the term “laissez faire” industry.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Kneeland still quoting?

Dr. WIRT. Miss Kneeland still quoting. She is quoting Tugwell.

It was also recognized in answer to my question that Dr. Tugwell in this same formulation of the philosophy of the planned economy had called particular attention to the fact that this contemporary situation in the United States has explosive possibilities, and I think those are the words used by Dr. Tugwell.

The CHAIRMAN. As quoted by Miss Kneeland?

Dr. WIRT. That is right.

Another statement was brought out; that is, that in this same article Dr. Tugwell—and it was their accepted philosophy—said that—

many people in the stage that we were, in the depth of this depression, would welcome a planned economy, because they longed for security.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, pardon me a minute.

Dr. WIRT. That is her statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to interrupt you so much, but was that Miss Kneeland? You are still quoting from her?

Dr. WIRT. It was, yes. I am trying to give the substance of it as well as I can remember. But she was referring to Dr. Tugwell's philosophy.

He also has stated, along with that connection, according to her report, and I know it was accurate, because I have read that thing myself many, many times, and was perfectly familiar with it, that there would come a time when these people who had welcomed in the beginning this planned economy would be faced with this discipline that would have to be forced upon the American citizen, and that then there would be tremendous opposition. A reference was made at that time to a similar statement by Henry A. Wallace, and that statement has since been published and has been made many times in public addresses by Henry A. Wallace. It is published in the book published by him, *America Must Choose*, only a couple of months ago.

The statement as quoted then was this, that Henry A. Wallace agreed with his assistant, Tugwell, that these things which we are now doing we must go on doing, much as we dislike them; that it was impossible to turn back.

The CHAIRMAN. You informed Miss Kneeland that you had read this before, did you?

Dr. WIRT. I did; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And notwithstanding the fact that you had told her of that, she proceeded to quote it all to you again?

Dr. WIRT. As a matter of conversation.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she have the book with her?

Dr. WIRT. She did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, sir.

Dr. WIRT. Now, I have here—but I want to ask the consent of your honorable body; I do not want to be discourteous, and I want to follow your wishes—I have here quotations that bear out those similar statements published recently in a book called “Our Economic

Society and its Problems", sent out for high-school instruction, of which I received a copy about 6 weeks ago. Do you want to go into that?

The CHAIRMAN. Later on we will take that up.

Dr. WIRT. Thank you. I simply want to get your wishes in the matter.

At this particular time, the statement was made, that Henry Wallace, in addition—

The CHAIRMAN. Who made it?

Dr. WIRT. The same person—in addition to having said that we must go on—

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, would you mind, so that we can get it for the benefit of the committee, giving an identification of Miss Kneeland? How long had she been in the Government service?

Dr. WIRT. I cannot tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. She has been some years, has she not?

Dr. WIRT. I would not be able to tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you if she did not come here in the early part of Coolidge's administration?

Dr. WIRT. I would not be able to tell you anything about it. It is the only time that I ever met her.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you talk to her that night?

Dr. WIRT. The conversation lasted, I should say, over 3 hours.

The CHAIRMAN. Was anybody else in this conversation with you?

Dr. WIRT. All of the persons that I named were sitting in the room.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they talking among themselves, or were they talking with you?

Dr. WIRT. They were, as I remember it, interested in this particular discussion, and were either listening, or there might have been occasional remarks by them.

The CHAIRMAN. Which one of them said that they believed that "by thwarting our evident recovery we would be able to prolong the country's destitution"?

Dr. WIRT. That statement is the substance of the statements made, following—in the part which I have been able to present to you—two things, that the recovery which we had had was a speculative spree, and was illusory, and that kind of recovery was not desirable.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but who made it?

Dr. WIRT. The same person.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Kneeland?

Dr. WIRT. Yes. And that, therefore, since that kind of recovery—which I contend was a real recovery and which resulted in the increase in business activities within 17 percent of normal—if you accept the fact that the recovery was false and illusory and the only hope of getting any recovery was to get it through the establishment of these reforms outlined at that time, therefore, the end would justify the means, and it would be necessary to go ahead with these reforms and disregard the recovery that we had had actually up to that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor who made the statement to you that "We believe that we have Mr. Roosevelt in the middle of a swift stream"?

Dr. WIRT. The statement was made by the three people.

The CHAIRMAN. Name them.

Dr. WIRT. Laurence Todd, Miss Kneeland, and Miss Taylor.

The CHAIRMAN. All made the same statement to you?

Dr. WIRT. Practically, and it was made in this connection——

The CHAIRMAN. At that same time?

Dr. WIRT. Yes; and it was made in this connection, that we were all forced to go through with the things that we were then doing, starting to do, and we could not turn back any more than you can turn back the flight of Time; therefore, not only Roosevelt, but all of us were in the middle of this swift stream.

The CHAIRMAN. Who made the statement to you contained in the Rand testimony before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee? Was that Miss Kneeland?

Dr. WIRT. Those same persons.

The CHAIRMAN. Who made which part of it? Did Miss Kneeland make it all?

Dr. WIRT. I tried to say that Laurence Todd joined in that statement regarding Kerensky, and the middle of the stream.

The CHAIRMAN. What did this Soviet representative talk about?

Mr. LEHLBACH. That was Laurence Todd, was it not?

Dr. WIRT. Yes, he is the man.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the man?

Dr. WIRT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did Miss Taylor say, which part of that statement?

Dr. WIRT. Nothing much more than acquiescing in the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. How did she acquiesce?

Dr. WIRT. By sort of nodding approval.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, then, what did Mr. Bruere have to say?

Dr. WIRT. Practically nothing, except that he protested the discussion along these lines and thought that we ought to talk about schools. Bruere is a member of a board of education in New York, which includes Nyack, and he takes that job very seriously, and he wanted to talk schools.

The CHAIRMAN. What did Miss Alice Barrows say?

Dr. WIRT. Practically nothing. Her point was that schools was her job. She was the hostess of the evening, and tried to make it as entertaining for all of us as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that evening entertaining?

Dr. WIRT. I found out what I was looking for, and that was what the main idea is. Whether I would call that "entertaining" or "satisfying", I don't know. It was satisfying.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand you to say that this Laurence Todd and this Miss Kneeland and this Miss Taylor are the "brain trusters" that you refer to.

Dr. WIRT. No. I stated here the "brain trusters" and their satellites at the beginning of this chapter on futile effort. I also stated that in this manuscript which was filed. Is it a figment of my imagination? And I refer to Ernest K. Lindley's statement that President Roosevelt probably would be faced with the resignation of 75 or 100 of these so-called "intellectual radicals."

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor—I am trying to find out for my own information—are these the satellites, then, that were there that night?

Dr. WIRT. I could consider them so.

The CHAIRMAN. They are not the real "brain trusters."

Dr. WIRT. I will come to them, if you will give me a chance, in just a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Just another question or two along that line.

Mr. REED. I think, if the chairman please, the witness was asked a general question. He never has been permitted to conclude his answer, but he has been interrupted. Now, we are apparently abandoning the question. I submit he ought to be allowed to tell the whole conversation that took place that night. That is what he was asked for.

The CHAIRMAN. We will come to that shortly, Senator.

Mr. REED. Very well.

The CHAIRMAN. How much more conversation did you have, Doctor, that you engaged in that night with Miss Kneeland?

Dr. WIRT. You understand, Mr. Chairman, that 3 hours is a long time, and a lot can be said in that time, even though you do most of the talking yourself. I do not know that for this particular hearing very much more is needed. I have more any time you want to get it.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Dr. WIRT. I will be willing to allow you to determine that as you see fit. And while I would like to take the time, I recognize the fact that we have already spent a lot of time getting started.

I will now go to the second part.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that conversation with some "brain trusters" in the second part?

Mr. McGUGIN. Before we get away from there, Dr. Wirt said a moment ago he wanted to put in some other statements along that line. What was the nature of those other statements?

The CHAIRMAN. It was a quotation from various books.

Mr. McGUGIN. I move, Mr. Chairman, he be permitted to put that in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask the gentleman to withhold that until we get something else we will have to put in the record. We will pass on it later on.

Who was present at this no. 2 meeting?

Dr. WIRT. Just before we leave that, I want to refer again to this statement that I made—that the statement was made to me by Miss Kneeland that they had a large group in the employ of the Government, many of them in key positions, and why could they not do something worth while?—then we will go on.

The CHAIRMAN. Then I want it understood that the statement read by Mr. Rand to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which was part of your manuscript, was the conversation that ensued at this supper in Virginia?

Dr. WIRT. I beg you pardon, Mr. Chairman; that is only a part of the conversations that I had, which were summarized in the term "they said so" in all of those statements.

The CHAIRMAN. Now we will go to the second occasion. When was it and where was it and who was present?

Dr. WIRT. It was at the same time I came to Washington at that time at the request of Dr. Robert Kohn, who was the head of the

Housing Division of the Public Works Administration. He wrote me and said that he would like to have me come to Washington if I could arrange to do so for a consultation with him and Mr. M. L. Wilson, his assistant, who had recently been appointed as head of the Subsistence Homestead Department, which was one of the divisions in the Housing Department, of which Dr. Robert Kohn was chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Dr. WIRT. Friday, September 1.

The CHAIRMAN. On the same day?

Dr. WIRT. The same day.

The CHAIRMAN. That was in Washington, I understand, not in Virginia?

Dr. WIRT. It was; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in Washington?

Dr. WIRT. The first conversation was in Mr. Wilson's office.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; sir.

Dr. WIRT. Dr. Kohn asked me to meet him there, and they later invited Mr. Pickett, who is Mr. Wilson's assistant. Naturally, being invited, I wanted to know what the main purpose of the Subsistence Homestead program was, as they saw it. Dr. Kohn attempted to explain to me what that purpose was. He made it clear that generally the housing program was interested in securing a richer life, as far as possible, for the American people, through something on the order of the Garden City development in New York, from where he came, and in the order of a suburban trend. To me that is the thing that is usually referred to by the term "a movement to decentralize the cities of America." I felt that that could hardly be interpreted as a recovery measure. It might be as a relief measure. But if you start to decentralize American cities, vacating houses that are already there, you are going to lower the rental values, and you are going to make it impossible for those communities to pay their taxes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you tell him that, now?

Dr. WIRT. I told him that. I quote what I told him. And that therefore that could hardly be considered a recovery measure, but it might be a relief measure. Then they explained particularly that the \$25,000,000 appropriated for the subsistence homesteads—and this explanation was made by Dr. Kohn and Mr. M. L. Wilson together—one talking and the other agreeing, or the other talking and the one agreeing—that that money probably was expended for some other purpose. I cannot tell you now what that purpose was, but you can easily ascertain what it was.

It had been decided that they would use that \$25,000,000 for the particular projects that they had referred to in their letter to me, which was a planning of some communities in America as demonstration centers of what might be accomplished toward getting the richer life for American people; and that along with that there probably would be in the Subsistence Homestead development—

The CHAIRMAN. Would you pardon me for interrupting, Doctor?

Dr. WIRT. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to find out, was any part of what they said in the Rand statement?

Dr. WIRT. Yes. The Rand statement was based on what they said.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us come down to that part of it.

Dr. WIRT. Certainly. I am trying to do that. I am sorry if I am not succeeding as rapidly as I should. I do not want to be discourteous; I want to be courteous. I would be glad to have you call my attention to it whenever you think I am not.

But in the subsistence homestead project which I up to that time had understood was a part of the general recovery and relief program of our Federal Government, they informed me that the Government would buy quite a large acreage of land and later on, in conversations, particularly with Mr. Pickett, extending over a period of 2 months—and the thing was realized which was being talked about at that time. That is, the Government was to buy 1,400 acres of land and they then named Arthurdale, near Fairmont, in West Virginia; that this would be subdivided into relatively large subsistence homes and that men would be moved from Morgantown, probably 200 of the 800 families there on the relief program. They would be asked to come into this town and they had had questionnaires out at that time trying to sift the most desirable of those 800 to be transferred to this experiment. That there they would have a factory which would manufacture probably something for the Government or the Post Office Department. In these conversations extending not only there but with Mr. Pickett and during a dinner later on at which he presided and at which Mr. Schwartz was present, the lawyer of the subsistence homestead division, and a very bright woman of that division—I do not know her name, but we could find it if you want it—and Mr. Glenn and Dr. Taylor and some other persons—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. who? Gland?

Dr. WIRT. Glenn and a Dr. Taylor.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Glenn?

Dr. WIRT. Glenn?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Dr. WIRT. My understanding is that Mr. Schwartz was the attorney for the J. C. Penney Co. and that Mr. Glenn was associated with the J. C. Penney Co., and that Mr. Glenn and Mr. Schwartz were there together. I do not know what connection Mr. Glenn has.

The CHAIRMAN. They were not governmental employees?

Dr. WIRT. Mr. Schwartz was, and I understand Dr. Taylor was.

The CHAIRMAN. And Dr. Taylor—what position does he hold?

Dr. WIRT. I cannot tell you. I can find out, but I cannot tell you.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir.

Dr. WIRT. I would like to say in this connection that you have not given me much time to get ready for this hearing and I will do the best I can.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Dr. WIRT. My question was this: In what way is the subsistence homestead development a recovery program, if you are going to take 200 families out of Morgantown—the best families in the 800 that they have there—and transfer them to a new community that you are going to build? That means that those 200 houses that these men occupy with their families will be vacated in Morgantown. That will lower the rents in that town and it will make it more difficult for them to raise taxes to take care of the other 600 with their other government expenditures, and it will leave on their hands the

particular individuals that need most a chance to go back into private industry, and you will be putting these into a collective type of community.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Doctor, the chairman has given me permission to ask you a question at this point. Will you point out what part of the Rand statement anything that you have said was said on this second occasion pertains to?

Dr. WIRT. I consider a very prominent part of the Rand statement my reference to the introduction of various measures under the guise of social reforms that were in reality thwarting the recovery program, and this is a part of it.

Now, take a factory; for instance, the factory that they proposed to locate at Arthurdale. That would mean that the 200 men who are now engaged in a factory in some other community, manufacturing those same things, would probably lose their jobs.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is your theory. What we want is the conversation that took place between you and the people to whom you refer as the "brain trusters." That is what we want. That was referred to before the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

Dr. WIRT. My understanding always has been that Robert Kohn and M. L. Wilson are considered a part of the "brain trust." If you will give me a chance, I will come to something else concerning which there will not be any question.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I wish you would come to it.

Dr. WIRT. Before leaving, I would like to say this. I therefore asked them if this subsistence homestead movement, as exemplified by this outlined experiment in Arthurdale, is not a recovery measure and is not a relief measure, then in this situation what is it? I wanted to know if those men would be permitted in the near future to buy those homes and they said, "No; not for a long time." I wanted to know how that community would be operated, and they said they were going to employ, and they did employ before these conversations were over, a man from the University of West Virginia, located at Morgantown, to supervise and direct that community.

I wanted to know who would be operating that factory, and they said the Government would or they would.

I wanted to know who was going to furnish the money for the schools, because that was a Federal problem I was being consulted about, and they said the Government would.

My statement was this—that that to me was a communistic effort, to use this as a demonstration of a type of community of the collective type, as a sample of what might be done in America for the richer life.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Let me ask you this. The conversation you have just referred to—would you interpret that conversation as part of the statement, quoting your language—

of a concrete plan for bringing on the proposed overthrow of the established American social order?

Dr. WIRT. I certainly would.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Proceed with the rest of the conversation.

Dr. WIRT. The important thing to me was this, that \$25,000,000, as I understood, appropriated by the Congress for another purpose was now being diverted to establish certain demonstrations or experi-

mental communities of a collective type as a sample of what we might do in America for the richer life of the American people.

I would like to go then to another statement.

Mr. O'CONNOR. On another occasion?

Dr. WIRT. On another occasion.

Mr. O'CONNOR. When, where, and who was present, please?

Dr. WIRT. At this particular occasion Gen. William A. Westervelt who was, when these things happened, the Assistant Administrator of the A.A.A. in my home, in Gary, Ind. His home is in Chicago. Gary is simply across the line from Chicago.

Mr. O'CONNOR. When was that?

Dr. WIRT. During March of this year.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was anybody else present?

Dr. WIRT. Not the first time. There were later.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was he a "brain truster"?

Dr. WIRT. Well, he was the assistant administrator to George Peek, in charge of the A.A.A. program. He was a man who impressed me as being in an important position and of great responsibility. Otherwise Frederick C. Howe, to whom he referred, would not be coming into his office and consulting him; Dr. Tugwell, to whom he referred, would not be coming into his office and consulting him; and Speaker Henry T. Rainey, of the House, would not be coming into his office and consulting him.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Now, Doctor, would you please tell us the conversation that you had with General Westervelt, pertaining to what is contained in the Rand statement solely; and before you proceed let me ask you this. Was he then in the Government employ?

Dr. WIRT. Not at the time he talked to me. He left the Government employ in December. But these things happened while he was in Government employ.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Proceed with the conversation and state what you said and what he said, with reference to what is contained in the Rand statement.

Dr. WIRT. He stated that Frederick C. Howe came into his office and was discussing the Federal relief program; that Howe asked him, Westervelt—

Is there any way by which we can stop feeding them? We are going too slowly. If we could stop feeding them, we would make greater headway toward what we are trying to accomplish.

Mr. McGUGIN. Stop feeding whom?

Dr. WIRT. I understood the people who are being fed on the relief.

Mr. McGUGIN. Stop feeding those on the relief and they would make better headway with their program; is that right?

Dr. WIRT. Yes. He said that Rexford G. Tugwell came into his office and told him that he could get a million dollars from the Government for a special kind of school to which they could get the recent college graduates who are not employed to come, and because of their attitude to society, due to the fact that they had not been able to get employment following their graduation, it would be easy to inoculate them with the ideas that they wanted them to have concerning the new planned economy.

General Westervelt also had made that statement, so Lewis Douglas says, at the time to him.

Mr. O'CONNOR. This is what General Westervelt said on that occasion?

Dr. WIRT. That General Westervelt came to him and related to him this conversation that Dr. Tugwell had with him.

And I suggest that you call Lewis Douglas and ask him about that matter.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That suggestion was not part of the conversation that you are relating. You are suggesting that now to the committee, is that it?

Dr. WIRT. Yes, indeed.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Just proceed with the conversation, Doctor.

Dr. WIRT. General Westervelt also said that Henry T. Rainey, Speaker of the House of Representatives, came to his office, as I remember it, some time last November and inquired about the progress that was being made concerning a project in the western part of Illinois in which he was interested for his constituents.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Now, just there; will you please point out what part of the concrete plan to overthrow the Government that visit had to do with?

Dr. WIRT. I will do it right now. In his statement he said that he asked Representative Rainey—I will be glad to tell you how he came to ask it, but will omit that at your request—that he asked Representative Rainey, what is Congress going to do, and Speaker Henry T. Rainey said—

Congress will assemble, we will pass certain laws, and adjourn about the middle of May, and after we adjourn in a month or 6 weeks the Government will take over the operation of a certain number of industries, then within another month or two the Government will take over the operation of some other industries, and then I do not know what will happen.

Mr. McGUGIN. Pardon the interruption, Mr. Chairman, but information came to me from a reliable source that General Westervelt, having been one of the officers in the Department of Agriculture, will be able to give this committee information of various members of that Department who have been retarding the progress of the Government, and I will therefore ask that General Westervelt be subpoenaed to appear before us.

The CHAIRMAN. After the meeting today the committee will have an executive session to decide further procedure.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Now, Doctor, proceed with this conversation on this occasion pertaining to the last statement and the plan to overthrow the Government.

Dr. WIRT. General Westervelt told me that practically the things referred to in my statement to Rand were as he knew them from his experience in his Government office, with the exception of one thing, and that was I made the statement in my communication to Rand that it was pointed out to me in the Virginia dinner that the plan of the economy advocates did not propose and did not want to take over the operation of agriculture. General Westervelt called my attention to the fact that was probably an error, and I had since, of course, noticed many statements where Dr. Tugwell has said in substance considering a plan by which they would see to it that the land control of the future would be operated for the benefit and interest of other people than just the mere owners of the land. So I probably was in error in taking the word of these people at the dinner as to what his real purpose was.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Have you substantially concluded the conversation between you and General Westervelt on this occasion?

Dr. WIRT. I have. Gentlemen, due to the fact this has gone out, and the fact you have, as I really believe, the welfare of your country at heart, you have all of the resources of Congress to find the facts in this case, I do not believe it is worth while to continue my testimony any further. I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, the Committee may want to ask you some questions.

Dr. WIRT. I will be glad to have them do so.

The CHAIRMAN. This happened on September 1, this meeting at Miss Burrows?

Dr. WIRT. In Virginia, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You made no public statement on that until you sent out the manuscript about the 17th of March?

Dr. WIRT. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know Miss Burrows before you went to her home that night?

Dr. WIRT. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Had she been a teacher under you in Gary?

Dr. WIRT. No, she had not.

The CHAIRMAN. How long had you known her?

Dr. WIRT. Probably 20 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she live in Gary?

Dr. WIRT. No, she did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Doctor, you quote a statement made to you to this effect, "We all think that Mr. Roosevelt is only the Kerensky of this revolution"; who made that statement to you?

Dr. WIRT. I have heard that statement made, of course, many, many times, but it was made at the Virginia dinner meeting by Laurence Todd and Miss Kneeland, approved by Miss Taylor.

Mr. O'CONNOR. They both made that exact statement?

Dr. WIRT. That is the substance of it. They may not have stated it exactly that way, and they did not state it exactly in the same words, either of them.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Dr. Wirt, I wish you would tell me whether my understanding of what took place at the home of Miss Burrows in Virginia on September 1 is correct. I understand that there was a group of six people, whom you have named and whose positions you have designated, those in public office being in the Department of Agriculture, and that your purpose in conversing with them at that dinner was to find out what the plan of control of the Government was that these people were supporting, and that Miss Kneeland took the lead and developed what you have testified, stating that she was developing, with the approval of herself and her associates at the dinner, the political philosophy and the actions contemplated in accordance with said philosophy of Dr. Tugwell and Secretary of Agriculture Wallace. Is my understanding correct?

Dr. WIRT. It is, with two exceptions. I never said, and I do not believe these people said, that anybody was planning to overthrow the Government; they were planning to overthrow the established social order.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I did not understand you to say anything about overthrowing the Government.

Dr. WIRT. I understood you to use that term, and I was correcting your statement.

Mr. LEHLBACH. They were planning to do it with respect to the Government so as to make it conform with the political philosophy they entertained?

Dr. WIRT. The established social order would be overthrown.

Mr. O'CONNOR. When you speak of revolutions and revolutionists, are you talking about revolutions against the established social order or revolutions against the Government?

Dr. WIRT. I used the term just as Ernest Lindley used it when he published this book on the Roosevelt administration, and I use it as other people use it when we talk about social revolution.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Do you use it as revolution against the Government or the overthrowing of the Government, or a revolution to overthrow the social order?

Dr. WIRT. I use it in the sense of a revolution to overthrow the social order.

Mr. LEHLBACH. At that occasion you referred to, the statement was made that the planned social order could not be established within the limit of the Constitution and the statutes pursuant thereto existing at the present time?

Dr. WIRT. Yes; according to Dr. Tugwell's expressed opinion.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Doctor, do you distinguish between overthrowing and changing?

Dr. WIRT. I do, in this sense. So many people are misled when you talk about revolution; they think it means an armed force coming into Washington and blowing the dome off of the Capitol and maybe driving out our President. I have been most particular in this statement to call attention to my honest belief that President Roosevelt is not to blame; that the real friends have not come to the front as they should have and put up that side of the question.

I do not believe our Congressmen are to blame. I think the Congress of America has been trying to carry out what they thought was the wish of their constituents, and that the wishes of the constituents as brought out in this conversation in the Virginia dinner were as there stated—that most people would welcome a planned economy due to the conditions we were in, and later on they might be disappointed when discipline had to be brought into effect that that planned economy would make absolutely necessary.

Mr. ARNOLD. I see this language in your statement: "We are on the inside and we can control the avenues of influence, and we can make the President believe that he is making the decisions for himself." When was that statement made to you and by whom?

Dr. WIRT. By those three persons, Todd, Kneeland, and Taylor acquiescing.

Mr. ARNOLD. That conversation took place here in the city of Washington?

Dr. WIRT. In Virginia, across the river.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was there another occasion when you talked with people whom you describe as "brain trusters", that you were proposing to proceed to when you stopped?

Dr. WIRT. No; my opinion is I have performed my service in calling attention and complying with your request by giving the names of the individuals and giving information of what was going on; that was sufficient.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I understand you have now named every person in the governmental employ who talked to you about this recovery or this plan; is that correct?

Dr. WIRT. From this standpoint: I have talked with a great many other Government employees.

Mr. O'CONNOR. From the standpoint of the statement read by Mr. Rand?

Dr. WIRT. I would like to mention in that connection that I visited Charles Eliot, Secretary of the General Planning Board, and we discussed the Harnes project in the city of Chicago, which was a housing project, and Charles Eliot agreed that the agreed housing program, leading to a decentralization of cities, would obstruct recovery.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Do you mean the Planning Board here in Washington?

Dr. WIRT. The General Planning Board, made up of Franklin Delano, Wesley C. Mitchell, and Charles Merriman.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I understand now you have given us the names of every person in the Government employ with whom you discussed matters contained in the Rand statement, and that you have given us substantially the conversations you had with all of those individuals; is that correct?

Dr. WIRT. Substantially so. I have talked with many Government employees, and I would not want to say I had forgotten they said something to me, because that is entirely possible.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Have you talked to anybody else whom you describe as a "brain truster" that you have not told us about?

Dr. WIRT. Not that I remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McGugin wishes to ask some questions.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Speaking about the change of the social order, as I understand the quotation you gave from Dr. Tugwell arising in the conversation at the dinner in Virginia, one of those quotations expressed as Mr. Tugwell's philosophy that there could not be a change in the social order that would not include such a great change in the Constitution and statutes as to mean destruction and rebeginning; is that correct?

Dr. WIRT. It was, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I move the committee stand recessed until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. REED. It may not be in order, but I am now formally making the request that these people who have been named by the witness be subpoenaed and examined by the committee. With all respect to the committee, I appreciate my unfortunate position, and I am making the formal request that these persons who have been named by the witness be examined by this committee, and that a complete investigation be made of the purposes and designs of what is commonly called the "brain trust."

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, the committee will take your request under advisement. Dr. Wirt, Mr. McGugin has not completed his questions.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Referring to your conversation with General Westervelt, you mentioned some conversation General Westervelt reported as having had with Mr. Howe. Who is Mr. Howe?

Dr. WIRT. Frederick C. Howe is head of the consumers' division of the N.R.A.

Mr. McGUGIN. What was that conversation between Howe and Westervelt as reported by Westervelt?

Dr. WIRT. That Mr. Howe came into General Westervelt's office and discussed with him the Federal relief program and made the statement to Westervelt—

Is there not some way by which we can stop feeding them, we are not making progress rapidly enough and if we could stop feeding them we could move more quickly to our objectives.

Mr. McGUGIN. Did General Westervelt allude to what those objectives were?

Dr. WIRT. I suggest you call General Westervelt, because I do not want to go too far in trusting to my memory on so many conversations.

Mr. McGUGIN. General Westervelt was an official of some kind with the Government, I understand?

Dr. WIRT. He was until about the middle of this last December, from early in the summer.

Mr. McGUGIN. In what capacity, do you know?

Dr. WIRT. My understanding is he was the first assistant administrator of the triple A. He was assistant to George Peek.

Mr. McGUGIN. He went out in December?

Dr. WIRT. That is my understanding.

Mr. McGUGIN. And your conversation was with General Westervelt after he went out?

Dr. WIRT. It was.

Mr. McGUGIN. In the course of these conversations did you discuss with any of them the occasion or the reason or the law under which Secretary Ickes had taken \$1,000,000 of the Public Works fund to buy capital stock of a subsidiary corporation of the T.V.A., which subsidiary corporation was authorized to engage in the business of farming, marketing, and processing farm products and livestock and also to engage in the business of manufacturing and selling goods and wares of every description?

Was there any discussion of that?

Dr. WIRT. There was not. General Westervelt made the statement these are only samples of the information I could give, but not in that particular conversation.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be available for tomorrow morning, Dr. Wirt?

Dr. WIRT. I will be at your command as long as necessary.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I move we recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I move we adjourn.

The CHAIRMAN. On the motion to recess let us have the vote.

(The motion was agreed to.)

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing will recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Thereupon the committee recessed until 10 a.m., Wednesday, Apr., 11, 1934.)

INVESTIGATION OF STATEMENTS MADE BY DR. WILLIAM A. WIRT

TUESDAY, APRIL 17, 1934

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
CHARGES MADE BY DR. WILLIAM A. WIRT,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met at 10 a.m. in the caucus room of the Old House Office Building, Hon. Alfred L. Bulwinkle (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

(Mr. James A. Reed of Missouri rose.)

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman rise?

Mr. REED. I was about to make my purpose known, Mr. Chairman. At the time of the adjournment, the question was asked Dr. Wirt if he would be available for the committee. Accordingly, he has remained over.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say to the Senator that we could not get in touch with Dr. Wirt on the day of the former hearing, and I had the Sergeant at Arms endeavor to get in touch with Dr. Wirt. I also saw the Senator and Dr. Wirt on the following day and told them that it was unnecessary for him to remain over, as far as the committee is concerned.

Mr. REED. Now, Mr. Chairman, there is a matter that has transpired since then——

The CHAIRMAN. And the doctor's expenses were paid at that time?

Mr. REED. There is a matter that transpired since that time that I am begging the indulgence of the committee to make a short statement concerning.

A statement was made by the chairman of this committee, on the floor of the House, that Dr. Wirt had been jailed——

The CHAIRMAN. That matter has been——

Mr. REED. Will not the chairman permit me to finish my sentence?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wishes to state to the Senator that that matter was closed yesterday. The chairman of this committee——

Mr. REED. I know what the chairman did. The chairman apologized in a very manly way. But I desire to ask the indulgence of the chairman, who made this charge, that I shall now be permitted to put into this record telegrams from leading citizens of Gary, Ind., certifying to the fine public character and the loyalty of Dr. Wirt. As a matter of simple justice, that ought to be done.

The CHAIRMAN. The Senator will submit those to the committee, and the committee will take them under advisement.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Chairman, I move that they be put into the record now.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I second the motion.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I might suggest, Mr. Chairman, that they are already in the Congressional Record; the names in full were put in in the Senate and referred to in the Record of the House proceedings.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a motion before the committee.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Let me add on that, that only about half of them are in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a motion before the committee. The Chair is going to put the motion.

Mr. LEHLBACH. May not the motion be discussed?

The CHAIRMAN. It has been discussed.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I have not discussed it. Have I not the right to discuss the motion?

Mr. O'CONNOR. I move that all debate on the motion do now close.

Mr. MCGUGIN. After you have discussed it, you move that discussion cease.

Mr. LEHLBACH. The gentleman from New York—

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is going to put the motion of the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MCGUGIN. What is the motion, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Chairman, I do not know of any such motion in parliamentary procedure. I would like him to restate it.

The CHAIRMAN. The Sergeant at Arms will call the roll on the motion.

Mr. ARNOLD. What is the motion?

The CHAIRMAN. The motion of the gentleman from New York is that all debate on the motion made by the gentleman from New Jersey cease. The motion of the gentleman from New Jersey is to insert these telegrams in the record at this time.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MCGUGIN. If this motion passes, it simply means that the minority members of this committee are shut off from any opportunity to discuss the motion; is that right?

Mr. LEHLBACH. And after the gentleman from New York has made a speech in favor of his own motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The chair will state that the gentleman from New York has not made a speech.

Mr. LEHLBACH. And we are not allowed to reply to it. The gentleman from New York makes a speech to which we are not permitted to reply.

The CHAIRMAN. The Sergeant at Arms will call the roll.

(The Sergeant at Arms called the roll and there were 3 ayes and 2 noes.)

(So the motion of the gentleman from New York was carried.)

The CHAIRMAN. The question now is upon the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. REED. May I say, Mr. Chairman, that all the telegrams have not been put into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. We are glad to have the information, Senator. The question now is upon the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey and the Sergeant at Arms will call the roll.

(The Sergeant at Arms called the roll and there were 2 ayes and 3 noes.)

(So the motion was defeated.)

The CHAIRMAN. The telegrams referred to will be left with the committee for its consideration.

Mr. McGUGIN. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentleman address the Chair?

Mr. McGUGIN. I have a motion which I wish to present to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state the motion.

Mr. McGUGIN. And I ask the right to discuss the motion, Mr. Chairman.

I move that the remainder of the people named by Dr. Wirt be called before the committee. The people are Prof. Rexford Guy Tugwell, Prof. Millburn Wilson, Dr. Robert Kohn, Dr. Frederick Howe, Henry Wallace, and General Westervelt.

In addition to questioning these witnesses on the matter presented by Dr. Wirt in his testimony, I wish to find out the following from Professor Tugwell: Is he carrying out the duties of his office in keeping with his voluminous writings, and——

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state his point of order.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The Chair did not recognize the gentleman but asked for what purpose he addressed the Chair; he said to make a motion, but I understand the Chair has not yet recognized him for what purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognized the gentleman to make a motion, but the Chair will state to the gentleman from Kansas that at an executive session of the committee last Tuesday afternoon it was decided that after a motion was made and adopted, that at this hearing only those six persons who were at the dinner would be examined at this meeting of the committee.

Mr. McGUGIN. Mr. Chairman, if you will permit me to finish my statement I will make it clear to this committee that Dr. Frederick Howe is a defender of anarchists and was, when he was commissioner at Ellis Island, and I want to make this statement, and unless permitted to do so, you will be defending a gentleman who has been driven from office for such act as I have mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Kansas he ought to know Resolution 317, which provides for the examination into the statements made by Dr. Wirt and read by Mr. Rand before the Committee of Interstate and Foreign Commerce and nothing else.

Now, the Chair will further inform the gentleman from Kansas that in your motion you provide for the calling of General Westervelt, and that the statement that was made by General Westervelt was made after the Rand report had been written, but not read before the committee.

Mr. McGUGIN. It does not make any difference when the statement is made, but the question is whether or not——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). The point is that Resolution 317 which was passed by the House for this investigation is not for that purpose.

Mr. McGUGIN. And according to the statement of Joe Byrns, the Democratic leader in the House, that resolution was broad enough to do what I am asking to do now.

The CHAIRMAN. I will not agree with the gentleman from Kansas. Mr. McGUGIN. I have made the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Kansas that others whom he mentioned in his motion be called before this committee for examination.

Mr. McGUGIN. Now, Mr. Chairman, I ask leave to discuss the motion.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I move that all debate on the motion do now close.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is upon the motion offered by the gentleman from New York.

Mr. LEHLBACH. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it?

Mr. LEHLBACH. Is this tantamount to calling for the question on the previous motion?

The CHAIRMAN. It is. The secretary will call the roll.

Mr. McGUGIN. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may state it.

Mr. McGUGIN. If this motion be adopted, it means I will be denied the opportunity to discuss my own motion.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not a parliamentary inquiry. The secretary will call the roll.

(The vote was taken, 3 ayes, 2 noes.)

(So the motion was carried.)

Mr. LEHLBACH. Now, Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order that where the rules of the House are applicable they are the rules of any committee sitting as an arm or agency of the House, and that means when a motion is made before any discussion has been held, the mover is entitled to 20 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Then the Chair merely sets aside the rules of the House by main strength.

The CHAIRMAN. No; the Chair is going to set aside the rules of the House—

Mr. McGUGIN. Yes; the rules of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. No; not the rules of the House. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Kansas to call these witnesses named in his motion. The secretary will call the roll.

(The vote was taken and there were 2 ayes, and 3 noes.)

(So the motion was lost.)

Mr. McGUGIN. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair states to the gentleman from Kansas we will take that up in executive session.

Mr. McGUGIN. Mr. Chairman, I make the following motion: I move that Arthur E. Morgan, H. A. Morgan, David E. Lilienthal, director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and Harold Ickes, and Harry Hopkins be subpoenaed before this committee.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I desire to state—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). May the Chair ask the gentleman a question?

Mr. McGUGIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were those names included in that statement read by Dr. Rand before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and testified to in relation to the dinner meeting, by Dr. Wirt?

Mr. MCGUGIN. The testimony I hope to bring out will disclose that these five men are operating without the law and without regard to the laws of the United States under the Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman will state that is discussion of the motion and it will not be allowed.

There will be no demonstrations of approval or disapproval.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Maybe not here, but there will be in a justice-loving country.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Barrow, you will come up please?

Mr. MCGUGIN. Mr. Chairman, I have a motion, and I ask the privilege of discussing the motion 5 minutes.

Mr. ARNOLD. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the motion of the gentleman from Kansas is beyond the purview of the matter we are investigating.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I ask the privilege of discussion on the point of order for 5 minutes, which is allowed by the rules of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. On the point of order; yes.

Mr. MCGUGIN. The resolution is to inquire into a statement read before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. That statement, among other things, says that there were men within the executive branch of this Government who were conducting their official duties with utter disregard for the Constitution and for the law of this Republic. Now the motion which I wish to present will disclose that the three directors——

The CHAIRMAN (interrupting). Will the gentleman please point out in the statement made by Dr. Rand, attributed to Dr. Wirt, where there was anything said about any violation of the Constitution and laws of the land?

Mr. MCGUGIN. That directly follows from the fact you have got men in the executive department of the Government trying to overthrow the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman please point that out in the statement that was made.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Let me have the statement you have in the book.

The CHAIRMAN. I will give it to you as far as it is in the report of the committee here.

Mr. LEHLBACH. The Chair asks the gentleman to point out something, then refuses to give him the book.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey, who is usually fair, knows well enough I handed the gentleman from Kansas the report of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which carries the full Rand statement in it.

Mr. LEHLBACH. A thick volume, yes; while you have it before you in concrete form.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I have it here. It says:

I was told that they believed that by thwarting our then evident recovery they would be able to prolong the country's depression until they had demonstrated to the American people that the Government must operate industry and commerce. I was told that of course commercial banks could not make long-time capital loans, and so forth.

I will show here that these three men are engaging in business and commerce without word or authority of law, and that Ickes and Hopkins have diverted Public Works funds for the purpose of buying stock.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state to the gentleman from Kansas that according to the testimony of Dr. Wirt before this committee on Tuesday, April 10, Dr. Wirt said that the entire conversation took place at the satellite or constellation dinner in Virginia.

Mr. ARNOLD. Mr. Chairman, I insist on my point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I now move, that Dr. Wirt be permitted to be recalled to the chair and be given opportunity to be questioned by his counsel in order that he may clear his fair name of the charge of disloyalty which has been made against him. The chairman's apology is very well indeed, but in order to remove any doubt in the minds of the American people, I think Dr. Wirt is entitled to make a statement to clear himself of those charges.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman will state to the gentleman from New Jersey that the matter was taken care of yesterday.

The first witness will be Miss Barrows.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Yes; but I move that Dr. Wirt be given that opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Barrows, please come forward.

Mr. LEHLBACH. No; there is a motion pending, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; I will put the motion. The question is on the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey. The Secretary will call the roll.

(The vote was taken and there were—yes 2, noes 3.

Therefore, the motion was lost.)

Mr. LEHLBACH. Then Dr. Wirt is denied simple justice?

The CHAIRMAN. No; he is not.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Mr. Chairman, I now move that Hon. James A. Reed, as counsel for Dr. Wirt, have the privilege of cross-examining any witness upon any question wherein that witness has denied a statement made by Dr. Wirt.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair states to the gentleman from Kansas that on last Tuesday, April 10, this question came before the committee, and the committee did not recognize Senator Reed as counsel for Dr. Wirt, but permitted him to come in as next friend to Dr. Wirt and assist him. The whole precedent in this House bears out the ruling of the chairman on this question.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You cannot cite a single precedent.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I would like to cite a precedent.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized.

Mr. O'CONNOR. In 1926 the distinguished Senator from Missouri was chairman of a committee of the Senate investigating expenditures in the senatorial primaries and general elections, and he conducted that hearing in various places, including Philadelphia and Chicago, inquiring into the elections of Mr. Vare in Pennsylvania and Mr. Smith in Illinois.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Mr. Chairman, is that a precedent of the House or the Senate?

Mr. O'CONNOR. This is a precedent so far as the gentleman from Missouri is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is stating a precedent.

Mr. O'CONNOR. At the last meeting of this committee the Senator from Missouri asked that the opportunity be given Dr. Wirt to make a statement before he was examined.

At the hearings I have referred to, when the Senator from Missouri was chairman of the committee, Mr. Smith, of Illinois, and Mr. Allen Moore appeared before the committee and Mr. Moore, who was a Congressman, asked the same privilege which the Senator has asked this Committee.

On page 1549 of that hearing Mr. Moore stated:

I have prepared a brief statement that I would like to present.

Senator Reed said, denying Mr. Moore's request—

We will prefer to proceed in the regular way.

Then the Senator proceeded to question Mr. Moore.

On page 1766 of the same hearing the chairman stated to Mr. Moore:

When Colonel Smith took the stand he wanted to read a written document, likewise when you came on the stand you wanted to read a written document. Both of these statements were offered to be used preliminary to the evidence. The committee declined to allow that to be done because we wanted to proceed in our own way.

Now, as to the request of Senator Reed that he participate as counsel in this hearing. When the distinguished Senator was acting as chairman of that committee, Mr. Cunningham of Philadelphia was being examined. I think he was sheriff of that county and took part in the Vare campaign. Mr. Benjamine Golder, who was a Member of Congress, asked to appear as counsel for Sheriff Cunningham. The chairman of that committee, Senator Reed, said:

We have permitted you to sit here as an act of courtesy.

Again, at page 1712, the chairman said to Mr. Golder—

If you came here to tell this witness that he should not answer any questions, whether it is pertinent or not, you are abusing the courtesy of the committee extended to you.

I could cite other instances in these hearings conducted by the Senator from Missouri in which he specifically held there was no right of any witness, even Senators or Congressmen, even though their seats in the Congress might be in question, to be represented by counsel.

Mr. McGUGIN. Will the gentleman yield for a question there?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Yes.

Mr. McGUGIN. Have you cited a single instance there where a given witness was refuting the testimony of another witness who was called before the committee under subpoena, and counsel was denied, for the exclusive purpose of cross-examination on the questions, in answer to which the witness had repudiated the statements of the other witness?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Well, in these hearings, I am quite sure that these witnesses were contradicting, if not repudiating, testimony of other witnesses.

Mr. McGUGIN. Do you know it or do you not know it?

Mr. O'CONNOR. There was no suggestion that that situation gave rise to the right of a witness to have counsel or for counsel to appear on behalf of anybody to question any other witness. It is a well-known standard in these investigations that if any counsel does appear, he really appears as an arm of the committee and not as an attorney for anybody who appears before the committee.

Mr. McGUGIN. My motion is limited to a specific proposition of a witness who repudiates a statement made by Dr. Wirt.

Now, this is a most extraordinary proceeding. Dr. Wirt has not appeared before this committee as most witnesses appear. He was subpoenaed. The statement went out that if he did not testify he would be jailed. That statement came straight from the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Under those circumstances, he needs a half dozen lawyers, except that he happens to have one like Jim Reed who is as good as the ordinary half dozen. It is most fitting that he should have a lawyer to defend himself and he should have the right to cross-examine any witness who repudiates his statements.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is upon the motion of the gentleman from Kansas. The secretary will call the roll.

(The sergeant at arms called the roll and there were 2 ayes and 3 noes.)

(So the motion was defeated,.)

The CHAIRMAN. The motion is lost. The Chair will call Miss Barrows.

TESTIMONY OF ALICE BARROWS

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please state your name?

Miss BARROWS. Miss Alice Barrows.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Miss BARROWS. I live in Washington, D.C.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in Washington?

Miss BARROWS. Since 1919.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your employment?

Miss BARROWS. I am a specialist in school-building problems, in the Office of Education of the Department of the Interior.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you held this position?

Miss BARROWS. I have been in the Office of Education since the spring of 1919. At one time I had another title. I was specialist in social and industrial relations and education. Then I was specialist in city schools. But for the last—I have forgotten; I think about 5 or 6 years—I have been specialist in school-building problems.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Dr. William A. Wirt of Gary, Ind.?

Miss BARROWS. I have known Dr. William A. Wirt, superintendent of schools at Gary, Ind., for 20 years. I have always considered him and Mrs. Wirt among my most devoted, sincere, and loyal friends. I have been associated with Dr. Wirt in educational work during all those years. Because the plan of school organization that he advocated and that I supported was a departure from tradition, a new deal in education, he was often attacked. I have defended him against such attacks for all those years.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hold a position under Dr. Wirt?

Miss BARROWS. Yes. I was Mr. Wirt's secretary in New York City when he was called there—I think it was from 1914 to 1917, when at the request of the mayor, and he was suggesting how the schools of New York City could be reorganized on the platoon plan.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the Miss Alice Barrows alluded to by Dr. Wirt in his testimony before the Select Committee of Investigation of the House on April 10?

Miss BARROWS. I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you invite Dr. Wirt to your home on September 1, 1933?

Miss BARROWS. I do not remember the exact date, but it was early in the fall. I asked Dr. Wirt to dinner to meet a few friends whom I wanted to have hear his educational theories. I remember especially asked Mr. Coyle at Mr. Wirt's request. There were present Mr. Robert Bruere, Miss Mary Taylor, Miss Hildegard Kneeland, Mr. David Cushman Coyle, Mr. Lawrence Todd, Dr. Wirt, and myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they all come together to your house, or did they come separately?

Miss BARROWS. They all came out in time for dinner—all except Mr. Todd, who came in later in the evening, I think, just at the end of dinner, as I remember it.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please state the conversation that you engaged in at the dinner table?

Miss BARROWS. Mr. Chairman, as a dinner, it was not a success, because Dr. Wirt talked practically all the time. I have known Dr. Wirt for 20 years and I think that everyone who knows him knows that he does have a capacity for talking 3 and 4 hours at a time.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Barrows, if you will pardon me, I asked you a question; what was the conversation at the dinner table?

Miss BARROWS. At the dinner table he talked about education. After dinner, at about, I think, 8 o'clock, he began talking on the devaluation of the dollar and talked continuously on that subject until, I should say, about 11 o'clock. I was considerably embarrassed and tried to bring in, for example, Mr. Coyle, but Mr. Coyle refused to say anything.

Mr. Bruere objected once or twice, saying that he wished Dr. Wirt would talk on education.

At no time during that whole evening or dinner did I hear the names of Kerensky or Stalin or Dr. Tugwell, or Secretary Wallace or the President mentioned. At no time did Dr. Wirt ask any questions.

I do remember that Miss Kneeland—Miss Kneeland made absolutely none of the statements attributed to her by Dr. Wirt, except once I remember that she managed to break through and get out one sentence, in which she objected to his theory that we should go back to conditions of 1926. But it was only a sentence and it did not interrupt the flow of talk.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you or any other of those present that night speak of yourselves as the group?

Miss BARROWS. We did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you or any of those others present that night tell Dr. Wirt that you were in the confidence of the President, or the President was in control of you?

Miss BARROWS. We did not make any such statement.

The CHAIRMAN. You have read this record of Dr. Wirt's testimony?

Miss BARROWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Miss Kneeland make any of the statements which Dr. Wirt said she made?

Miss BARROWS. She made absolutely none of those statements except, as I have said, I remember she managed to break in once with an objection to the idea that we should go back to the conditions of 1926; that was all.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you furnish Dr. Wirt at any time recently with the names of the persons who were at that dinner?

Miss BARROWS. I would like to—may I tell about the communications that I have had with Dr. Wirt since that time?

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you first the question whether you furnished Dr. Wirt any of the names of the persons who were at that dinner.

Miss BARROWS. Monday afternoon—I did it in this way—

The CHAIRMAN. Which Monday afternoon?

Miss BARROWS. Monday afternoon, April 9, the day before the testimony, I had an appointment at my hairdresser's at 4:30. A little before 4 the hairdresser called up and said it was very important that I come to his establishment at 4 o'clock. I thought he wanted to change the appointment. I did not get there until about 4:30. When I got there, he himself came to me and said, "This is very mysterious, Miss Barrows, but there is someone upstairs that says she is a friend of yours and she wants to see you, but she does not want to go to your office because her husband is here on a Federal investigation." I went upstairs and there was Mrs. William A. Wirt. I said to her, "Why are you being so mysterious about this?"

She said, "This is the point. Dr. Wirt is very much concerned over the fact that the dinner party in Virginia has been referred to in this whole matter. He wants you to know that he had nothing to do with its getting into the papers. Now, he is sure, however, that he will be asked about it by the committee, and he feels that if he can give the names immediately and then pass on quickly, having gotten that out of the way, to the real testimony, then the thing will be simply—well, nothing more will happen."

She said, "Now, the difficulty is, however, that he does not remember the names of all of the people present and he is afraid that if he stumbles or hesitates over them, you will be called."

I said, "Well, I do not object to being called to give the names of the people that were at a dinner party of mine."

But she said, "Oh, no. Dr. Wirt is determined that you shall not be called by the committee."

And so, as it seemed a matter of no importance at all, I gave her the names.

Then I went home. About a half an hour later there was a knock on my door, and there was Mrs. Wirt. She said, "I am sorry to trouble you again, but I have walked around different streets and I am sure I have not been traced." I said, "I do not understand the reason for all this mystery." She said, "I am not sure I got all the names and official positions correctly." So I gave her the names again. When we came to Mr. Bruere she said, "Mr. Wirt does not want to mention Mr. Bruere." I said, "I do not see how he can help it." She said that he would not.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Barrows, will you please state to the committee whether you had any correspondence or any letters from Dr. Wirt prior to the first hearing?

Miss BARROWS. I did, sir. With your permission I will read the letter. This letter I received on Saturday. I think it was April 7, just before the 10th, when Dr. Wirt testified.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the date of that letter?

Miss BARROWS. April 4, and it was sent from Michigan City, Ind. With your permission I will read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed with the reading of the letter.

Miss BARROWS (reading):

DEAR MISS BARROWS: I have hesitated to write you because I did not want to inadvertently mix you up with the present controversy. However, since the press notices have come to me concerning the dinner party in Virginia with the presence of a newspaper correspondent who had communistic leanings, etc., I am quite sure that I will be asked concerning this dinner at the hearing. The investigating committee will be in a position to compel a statement from me.

In order to remove what may be a serious strain upon you I want to state very definitely and support it with copies of my letters to you concerning my visits, that my relationship with you and everyone in the Department of Education was purely on educational matters. I find that I have a copy of a letter in which I said that "I will be pleased to see Mr. Coyle."

Concerning the dinner in your home in Virginia, I shall state the facts. That I asked to see Mr. Coyle because I was interested in discussing with him his argument in a publication concerning the "present era" of plenty and the necessity of increasing the service-occupations activities. I shall, of course, state that my position was that we are already diverting too great a share of our producer's dollar to the service occupations. But I shall emphasize that so far as Mr. Coyle is concerned that he did not, directly or indirectly, refer to the general social or economic program of the "new dealers."

As to Mr. Robert Bruere I shall make very clear that he was constantly objecting to the diversion of the conversation from the subject of schools. He was interested only in the matter of the organization of the county schools at Nyack, N.Y., where he is a member of the board of education. I shall most emphatically state that every time that I saw Mr. Bruere he was interested only in the matter of his proposed reorganization at Nyack.

I am not expecting you to answer this letter. I merely want to advise you of the situation so that you and Dr. Zook and other persons in the Department of Education will understand my attitude.

The only thing that I remember about you and Government is the statement that you made to me that you were working on schools and leaving saving the country to the other fellow.

With best wishes, and kindest regards to Dr. Zook, I am

Cordially yours,

WILLIAM WIRT.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York care to ask any questions?

Mr. O'CONNOR. Were you present with the party during substantially all of the evening?

Miss BARROWS. Yes; as soon as we got through dinner we all moved into the sitting room. It is not a large room and it is impossible for conversation to be carried on on the side. We all just sat and listened to Dr. Wirt.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Illinois have any questions?

Mr. ARNOLD. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New Jersey have any questions?

Mr. LEHLBACH. You testified that during the dinner, the meal, that the conversation was on educational subjects?

Miss BARROWS. Yes, sir, and after dinner on the devaluation of the dollar.

Mr. LEHLBACH. And the time thereafter, up to 11 o'clock, when the party broke up, was so occupied. Is that correct?

Miss BARROWS. I think so; yes, sir.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Dr. Wirt discussed exclusively the devaluation of the dollar?

Miss BARROWS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Was he in favor of deflation of the dollar?

Miss BARROWS. Oh, yes. He was arguing for it.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Keep up your voice.

Miss BARROWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Was there any question at all about deflation of the dollar in 1926?

Miss BARROWS. I do not remember, I do not know anything about deflating the dollar.

Mr. O'CONNOR. This was in 1933.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Consequently, if Miss Kneeland interrupted a statement by Dr. Wirt, taking exception to the fact that he was advocating a return to conditions of 1926, he was not at all discussing the devaluation of the dollar?

Miss BARROWS. All I know is that Miss Kneeland simply said that she objected to his theory that we should return to the conditions of 1926.

Mr. LEHLBACH. But then he could not possibly have been talking about the devaluation of the dollar at that time.

Miss BARROWS. May I say right here, that in discussing the devaluation of the dollar, Dr. Wirt went back to greenbacks, went forward to the future. He went back to all theories of money, from the beginning of time until now. We could not follow up all the things which he brought up.

Mr. LEHLBACH. When Dr. Wirt suggested a return to conditions of 1926, he was discussing the present depression, was he not?

Miss BARROWS. Honestly, I do not know what he was discussing. I was so exhausted by that time. I know that he was talking about deflating the dollar.

Mr. LEHLBACH. That is rather amusing, but it is not responsive to the question.

Miss BARROWS. Pardon me, sir.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Of course it is a matter of common knowledge and the committee can take judicial notice of it, and you, as a fact, know that the country was in a very prosperous condition in 1926, was it not?

Miss BARROWS. I do not know just what you mean by prosperous condition.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Well, there was no substantial unemployment and wages were as high as they have ever been in the history of the country?

Miss BARROWS. I do not have those facts with me.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Were you living in the United States in 1926?

Miss BARROWS. Yes; I understand that there was unemployment at that time.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Of course, there is always unemployment. There are a lot of people who won't work. Now, when Miss Kneeland objected to Dr. Wirt's advocacy of a return to a condition of prosperity, what reason did she allege for her objection?

Miss BARROWS. Miss Kneeland got out exactly one sentence, and that is, she objected to his theory that we should go back to the conditions of 1926, and she was not able to say any more because he went right on with his own talk.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Then Miss Kneeland objected to a return to prosperity?

Miss BARROWS. I did not say that. I said she objected to Dr. Wirt's statement that he felt that we should go back to the conditions of 1926.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Well, inasmuch as this discussion, albeit, you say, a brief one, took place, but Dr. Wirt and Miss Kneeland had nothing whatever to do with the deflation of our dollar, and consequently the conversation, after the dinner was over, was not confined to that subject?

Miss BARROWS. As I have said before, in discussing the devaluation of the dollar he took in all of the various conditions, historical, philosophical, economic, and so forth. It was a most extensive talk. I cannot give you all the items which were brought up.

Mr. LEHLBACH. When Miss Kneeland objected to a return to a state of prosperity in this country, was there any dissension by anyone except Dr. Wirt?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair——

Mr. LEHLBACH. I do not admit the right of the Chair to advise me what is pertinent or not pertinent. I am as much a member of this committee as the chairman is, and I propose to ask my questions without censorship by the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will tell the gentleman from New Jersey that the witness on the stand did not say that Miss Kneeland objected to going back to the prosperity of 1926, and the witness has said that three different times, and Miss Kneeland will be on the stand.

Mr. LEHLBACH. That does not make any difference.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will tell the gentleman from New Jersey that he can ask questions of the witness as to what transpired and what this witness said, but it is not fair and not just to the witness to attempt to put words in her mouth which she did not say.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I am not putting any words in her mouth at all, but she did testify that Miss Kneeland objected to the express desire of Dr. Wirt to return to the conditions of 1926, which were in fact conditions of prosperity, and I am asking whether, when Miss Kneeland made such a remarkable objection, whether there was dissent from anybody else excepting Dr. Wirt.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman has had experience as a member of committees and also as chairman of a special committee, and not so many years ago, when he was chairman of a special election committee, and there was a minority on that committee, one of whom was the gentleman from New York, Mr. Black, and the chairman, the present member of this committee, censored every question that Mr. Black proposed to ask.—— And he did not permit Mr. Black to ask many questions in that investigation. He also prevented Mr. Black from calling witnesses. Mr. Black made a motion that Bishop Cannon and others be called as witnesses before the committee, and the gentleman from New Jersey, the chairman, would not entertain any motion, let alone put it to a vote, as we are doing.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Let me tell the gentleman from New York——

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will direct the gentleman from New Jersey to proceed with the examination of the witness.

Mr. LEHLBACH. May I not answer the statement of Mr. O'Connor as to my conduct as chairman of that committee?

The CHAIRMAN. You may answer him.

Mr. LEHLBACH. The only time that Mr. Black was not permitted to put a question during the course of that hearing was in the State of Texas, and the Chair did not deny him the right to ask the question. The Chair put it to a vote of the committee, whether the question was pertinent, and whether the committee desired that particular scope of inquiry to be pursued, and the committee voted on the question. The Chair never arrogated to himself the right to tell a fellow member of the committee what was pertinent, relevant, or what he had a right to ask or what he could not ask.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentleman from New Jersey should review the record.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I will.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey will proceed with his examination.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I am asking that when Miss Kneeland objected to a return to conditions of 1926, which in fact were conditions of prosperity, whether anybody else in that room objected or dissented from her objection to a return to prosperity, except Dr. Wirt.

Miss BARROWS. When Miss Kneeland objected to Dr. Wirt's contention that we should return to the conditions of 1926, she said that in one sentence. No one else said anything, and Dr. Wirt went on with his talk.

Mr. LEHLBACH. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Kansas have any questions?

Mr. O'CONNOR. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did Miss Kneeland specify the conditions about which she was talking?

Miss BARROWS. She did not get the opportunity.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did she say "conditions of prosperity"?

Miss BARROWS. She did not say "conditions of prosperity." She said "conditions of 1926."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas may proceed.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You regard the conditions of 1926 as prosperous times, do you not?

Miss BARROWS. My recollection is very vague in regard to the conditions of 1926.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You do not remember that there were 13,000,000 unemployed in 1926, do you?

Miss BARROWS. I do not have those statistics.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You remember that the farm prices were at a good figure in 1926, do you not?

Miss BARROWS. That was not my specialty. I knew nothing about farm prices.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Miss Kneeland, who made the statement that she was opposed to returning to the conditions of 1926, holds a position in the Agricultural Department, does she not?

Miss BARROWS. She is the head of the Division of Economics, of the Home Economics Bureau of the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. MCGUGIN. She is a department head in that Department. And she is opposed to returning to the conditions of 1926?

Miss BARROWS. She made that statement to Dr. Wirt.

Mr. McGUGIN. In your direct statement, I understood you to say that you invited the guests to this party.

Miss BARROWS. Yes.

Mr. McGUGIN. You invited Laurence Todd?

Miss BARROWS. Yes.

Mr. McGUGIN. That is the Laurence Todd who is a correspondent for Communist newspapers, is now and has been for many years; is that right?

Miss BARROWS. No; pardon me. He was at that time the correspondent for the Federated Press. Since that time he has been made correspondent for the Tass Agency.

Mr. McGUGIN. For the Communist papers?

Miss BARROWS. No; for the Tass Agency.

Mr. McGUGIN. Is not that a Communist agency?

Miss BARROWS. The Tass Agency, is, I understand, what would correspond to our A.P., for the Soviet Government.

Mr. McGUGIN. You are a good enough student of communism and Russian communism to know that such an agency is not financed by the newspapers of Russia, but is financed by the Communist government, are you not?

Miss BARROWS. I do not know anything about it.

Mr. McGUGIN. You do not know that Mr. Todd once testified before a congressional committee that he wrote for Communist newspapers, do you?

Miss BARROWS. No; I do not.

Mr. McGUGIN. You invited Robert Bruere?

Miss BARROWS. I did.

Mr. McGUGIN. This is the same Robert Bruere who, in 1918, was a defender of the I.W.W.'s and a severe critic of the Department of Justice under the Wilson administration for his conduct pertaining to the I.W.W.'s; is that right?

Miss BARROWS. I simply do not know, I am sorry. I did not have all the past history of my guests. I really do not know.

Mr. McGUGIN. And if you had had the past history of them, you would not have invited them.

Miss BARROWS. Pardon me; I would have invited Robert Bruere to any party of mine.

Mr. McGUGIN. Would you have invited him if you knew that he had been a defender of the I.W.W.'s and a severe critic of the Department of Justice in the Wilson Administration, which Department of Justice was trying to defend this country during the war from the I.W.W. enemies at home?

Miss BARROWS. I would invite Mr. Robert Bruere to any party of mine.

Mr. McGUGIN. Even if you knew that that was his record. Mary Taylor—you invited her, did you?

Miss BARROWS. Yes.

Mr. McGUGIN. What is her position?

Miss BARROWS. She is in the triple A of the Department of Agriculture, editing some bulletin there.

Mr. McGUGIN. Who is her immediate superior, do you know?

Miss BARROWS. I think it is Dr. Frederick C. Howe.

Mr. McGUGIN. That is the same Frederick C. Howe who was commissioner of immigration at Ellis Island during the Wilson administration, is it not?

Miss BARROWS. I believe he was; yes.

Mr. MCGUGIN. That is the same one who was forced to resign because he defended anarchists instead of deporting them, as was his duty?

Miss BARROWS. I never heard of that.

Mr. MCGUGIN. That is a record that you know nothing about?

Miss BARROWS. I know nothing about it.

Mr. MCGUGIN. How long has Miss Taylor been employed by this man Howe?

Miss BARROWS. I think that she entered Dr. Frederick C. Howe's employ about—I do not know, it was 6 or 7 or 8 or 9 months ago; I am not sure.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Do you know whether she has ever associated with Howe before?

Miss BARROWS. What do you mean, "associated"?

Mr. MCGUGIN. I mean, worked for him or had any business relations with him.

Miss BARROWS. I do not think she has.

The CHAIRMAN. If the gentleman from Kansas will pardon the interruption, the Chair will state that Miss Taylor will be on the witness stand in a few moments.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Is the witness acquainted with Adolph A. Berle, Jr.?

Miss BARROWS. I beg your pardon.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Dr. Adolph A. Berle, Jr.

Miss BARROWS. Never heard of him.

Mr. MCGUGIN. If Mr. Adolph A. Berle—

Miss BARROWS. Oh, Berle [the witness pronouncing the name "Berly"].

Mr. MCGUGIN. I stand corrected. Mr. Berle was reported in the Associated Press as stating that at this dinner where Dr. Wirt was present—

They were all in pretty good spirits and relished kidding the credulous old duffer. Confiding that Roosevelt was a Kerensky, they said that he was just waiting for the right time to start his revolution. After 2 years there would be a Stalin, who would take over the Government. "Yes," they continued, "the country is going to the dogs."

"But who is to be the Stalin?" the doctor pressed. So, having led him thus far—Mr. Berle smiled—they decided to take him for a good long ride, and they said solemnly, "Rexford G. Tugwell is the man." Thus intrigued, the Doctor wanted to know why Tugwell was slated for the job. "Oh, that's because we call him Rex," they gaily replied.

If Mr. Berle made that report of this dinner, he was not telling the truth; is that right?

Miss BARROWS. I do not see how he could be referring to our dinner, because Mr. Berle was not there. I have never met Mr. Berle. I have never had that pleasure. And he knew nothing about the dinner, so far as I know.

Mr. MCGUGIN. If Mr. Berle or anyone else was correctly quoted in the press as making such a statement, then you would say that he was falsely stating the facts?

Miss BARROWS. I would say that the quotation that you have given does not say that he was referring to my dinner in Virginia.

Mr. MCGUGIN. He says he was referring here to where Dr. Wirt was present and this much-published conversation took place.

Miss BARROWS. At that time, as I remember it, no one knew just what dinner—when that was written—Dr. Wirt was referring to. So I would say that it could not be implied that he was referring to my dinner, because Mr. Berle could not know anything about my dinner.

Mr. MCGUGIN. If Mr. Berle was quoted correctly, it must have been some other dinner?

Miss BARROWS. It must have been some other dinner.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I believe that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Barrows, referring to the question asked you by the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. Berle was not at your home at that time?

Miss BARROWS. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. You have read the record and the testimony of Dr. Wirt?

Miss BARROWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you if there is a word of evidence in that testimony which in any way mentions Mr. Berle as being present at any time with Dr. Wirt?

Miss BARROWS. There was not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I would like to ask one question, Mr. Chairman.

Miss Barrows, have you confided to anyone what your testimony would be here today?

Miss BARROWS. Let me see—I have not confided to anyone what my testimony was going to be today.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Have you told anyone?

Miss BARROWS. The group—the people whom you call a group who are here today, not a group in the sense in which it is used, but who are in the testimony. They are simply people that I happened to have to dinner—we were called into Mr. Bulwinkle's office and I said that I had a letter from Dr. Wirt, that Mrs. Wirt secured the names from me. That was all. I volunteered the information. Mr. Bulwinkle did not ask for that information. I volunteered that information.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You stated at that meeting, I suppose, about what you said here, only not in such great detail?

Miss BARROWS. Just exactly what I have told you.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Did you state at that meeting that there was nothing said by Miss Kneeland or any of these witnesses, as they were quoted by Dr. Wirt?

Miss BARROWS. Yes, certainly. I wished to make perfectly clear what the facts were in regard to this matter.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Now, Mr. Bulwinkle is chairman of this committee?

Miss BARROWS. Mr. Bulwinkle did not ask for this information.

Mr. MCGUGIN. No; you confided it to him.

Miss BARROWS. Pardon me, I did not confide it to him.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You told it to him. Were there any other members of the committee present at that meeting?

Miss BARROWS. No, sir.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You did not see fit to give that advance information as to what your testimony would be to any of the minority members of this committee, did you?

Miss BARROWS. We were asked simply to come to Mr. Bulwinkle's office so that he could explain to us when we were to attend and where we were to attend. I would like to say to the members of the committee that this whole situation has been a very great shock to me. It was inconceivable that anyone whom I had known for 20 years should so violate the principles of hospitality and friendship and bring false charges against his fellow guests and my friends, and consequently, being very much concerned and worked up, I spontaneously said, "This is not true and these are the facts." It was a very natural thing to say.

Mr. McGUGIN. You understand, when Dr. Wirt gave his testimony, he was here under subpoena and the Speaker of the House of Representatives had heralded to the country that if he did not testify they would put him in jail.

You understood that, did you not?

Miss BARROWS. Yes.

Mr. McGUGIN. He did not have very much of an alternative except to testify as to what took place at that party, did he?

Miss BARROWS. He did not tell what took place at that party.

Mr. McGUGIN. Well, he gave his version of it, did he not?

Miss BARROWS. He did not tell what took place at that party.

Mr. McGUGIN. Why did you select these particular people; were they your friends and associates?

Miss BARROWS. They are my very good friends and associates.

Mr. McGUGIN. Mr. Laurence Todd is a good friend and associate of yours?

Miss BARROWS. A very good friend.

Mr. McGUGIN. And Mr. Bruere?

Miss BARROWS. He is.

Mr. McGUGIN. And Miss Taylor?

Miss BARROWS. Yes.

Mr. McGUGIN. Your beliefs are kindred to their beliefs, I suppose, to a great extent?

Miss BARROWS. May I ask a question? I was going to say, I do not think that it is likely that anyone's beliefs are entirely the same as other people's. But I should say that I agree very largely with Miss Kneeland's beliefs, who I am sure you are going to question, and anything she may have to say I am willing to stand by.

Mr. McGUGIN. You, too, are opposed to going back to the conditions of 1926?

Miss BARROWS. That comes up very often. May I say this?

Mr. McGUGIN. Yes.

Miss BARROWS. Certainly. I think what we have to do is to go on to better conditions than there were in 1926.

Mr. McGUGIN. Just as a stopping place, you would be very glad to have 1926—for 6 months or so, would you not?

Miss BARROWS. I think we should go on. I think we are in the midst of a technological development that forces, not going back, but going forward.

Mr. McGUGIN. Following that out, it is your theory, then, that we cannot have business owned and operated by individuals for profit, is that not right—in this technological revolution?

Miss BARROWS. I am not sufficient of a student on those subjects to answer your question.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Barrows, you and the other five came to my office, and voluntarily asked to come before the committee?

Miss BARROWS. I did, Mr. Bulwinkle.

The CHAIRMAN. And asked not to have subpoenas issued?

Miss BARROWS. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are here voluntarily this morning?

Miss BARROWS. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Just one question please. This morning at about 20 minutes of 10 you and the other witnesses assembled in Mr. Bulwinkle's office, is that correct?

Miss BARROWS. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. And left there at 10 o'clock?

Miss BARROWS. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I had not met you before?

Miss BARROWS. No.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you know whether Dr. Wirt and Senator Reed have been in daily attendance at the office of the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. McGugin?

Mr. MCGUGIN. Mr. Chairman, just to correct that statement right now, that statement is false. Dr. Wirt has never been in my office. That statement is just as false as your statement on the floor yesterday; just as false as the Chairman's statement on the floor to the effect that Dr. Wirt had been in jail.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The gentlemen states that he has never been in communication with Senator Reed during the past week?

Mr. MCGUGIN. I have been in communication with Senator Reed, but never with Dr. Wirt. Now, you get that straight.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas—

Mr. MCGUGIN. And confine your questions to the truth when you are talking about me—both of you.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas will at least observe the rules of common decency.

Mr. MCGUGIN. The first rule of common decency is common honesty, and that is all I am demanding that you and Mr. O'Connor practice.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman states that he practices it.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Oh, yes; that was common honesty when you stated on the floor that a man has been in jail and it was 6 days before you retract it. It was common honesty when Mr. O'Connor said on the floor yesterday, that I violated the rules of the House. That was false.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas will remember that he is not trying the lawsuit which is brought against him by the United States Government in Kansas.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Let us try it in a court of justice any day we are ready.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the gentleman from Kansas through?

Mr. MCGUGIN. Yes; if you confine yourselves to the truth and to common honesty when you are talking about me.

The CHAIRMAN. We will call Miss Kneeland.

TESTIMONY OF MISS HILDEGARDE KNEELAND

(The witness was duly sworn by the Chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Where do you live, Miss Kneeland?

Miss KNEELAND. Washington, D.C.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Are you employed by the Government?

Miss KNEELAND. I am employed by the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. O'CONNOR. In what position?

Miss KNEELAND. I am chief of the economics division of the Bureau of Home Economics in the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. O'CONNOR. How long have you held that position?

Miss KNEELAND. I have held that position ever since coming to Washington in February 1924.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Are you a civil-service employee?

Miss KNEELAND. I am a civil-service employee in the professional service.

Mr. O'CONNOR. When you were first appointed, were you recommended by anybody?

Miss KNEELAND. I was, sir. In the usual procedure followed, I understand, in the appointment of anyone to a civil-service position, I passed the examination for the position to which I was appointed and in so doing included in my application the names of several people who knew of my work.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Do you recall who they were?

Miss KNEELAND. I recall I mentioned the names of the two people who were my superiors in the last position which I held before coming to Washington. Those people were Dean Helen Bishop Thompson, dean of the Division of Home Economics of the Kansas State Agricultural College; and the president of the college at that time, William Marion Jardine, who later became Secretary of Agriculture under a Republican administration.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Now, you were present at this dinner party at the home of Miss Barrows on September 1, 1933?

Miss KNEELAND. I was, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Prior to that time, did you know Dr. Wirt?

Miss KNEELAND. I had never met Dr. Wirt until that occasion, and that is the only occasion on which I have met him.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Now, Dr. Wirt has testified here as to certain conversations which he claims took place on that evening. Were you present during the whole evening?

Miss KNEELAND. I was present during the whole evening. I was there when the Doctor started and remained until the party broke up, some time after 11.

Mr. O'CONNOR. You have read the testimony of Dr. Wirt on the 10th of this month.

Miss KNEELAND. I have read that testimony.

Mr. O'CONNOR. And that testimony refers to your having taken a great part in that conversation. Did you take any considerable part in that conversation?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not. It was impossible for either myself or anyone else present to take considerable part in the conversation that evening.

When we first sat down to dinner there were a few minutes I would say of the usual casual conversation. That conversation was in no way about any of the matters mentioned in Dr. Wirt's testimony.

Someone then asked Dr. Wirt a question in regard to the educational system in Gary. Dr. Wirt replied and from then on the evening was his. The rest of us, some of the other persons present, did attempt now and then to interrupt the flow of Dr. Wirt's conversation, but we were, as Miss Barrows has testified, unable to stop that flow. We would get in no more than a sentence or a question before Dr. Wirt's conversation and his discourse were resumed and that discourse continued until the party broke up.

I myself, I wish to testify, made several attempts to interrupt the conversation, and to bring other people into the conversation. I remember on one occasion I went so far as to say bluntly that I would like to hear the views of another member of the group present, Mr. David Coyle, on some subject Dr. Wirt was referring to. Mr. Coyle refused to speak and Dr. Wirt resumed his talk.

At no time did I engage with Dr. Wirt or with anyone else present in what could possibly be called a conversation, if by conversation one means, as I assume, an exchange of remarks. It was impossible to have such a conversation that evening.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Have you ever met Dr. Tugwell?

Miss KNEELAND. I have never met Dr. Tugwell except on one occasion, February 16, some 5 months after this dinner party took place. On that occasion I was introduced to Dr. Tugwell, and he made some such remark as "How do you do?" and no other word was spoken. That occasion was at a meeting on departmental matters in the secretary's office which I happened to be attending because the chief of my bureau was out of the city and I was representing my bureau.

On that occasion I should like to add, Dr. Tugwell made no speech, made no reference to any of his economic or social views, but was merely a chairman at a meeting at which Bureau and departmental matters were discussed.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Up to the time of this dinner had you read any publications by Dr. Tugwell?

Miss KNEELAND. I had not. I am rather embarrassed to have to testify here that at the time of that dinner and up to this very day it so happens that I have never read any of Dr. Tugwell's articles or any of his published writings. I have never heard any of his speeches or talked with him on any subject whatever.

Mr. O'CONNOR. On page 13 of the record, Dr. Wirt testified that he was going to point out to this group the situation as to business a to find out what your ideal was. Then he states that you gave this answer: "Our group takes the leadership, and takes the leadership of Dr. Tugwell. We are in the Department of Agriculture and Henry A. Wallace expressed the viewpoint we believe in."

Did you give any such answer or indulge in any such conversation.

Miss KNEELAND. I did not, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you ever meet Secretary Wallace?

Miss KNEELAND. I have never met Secretary Wallace.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Up to the time of this dinner had you ever read any of his writings or expressions?

Miss KNEELAND. Up to the time of that dinner I had not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Dr. Wirt states on page 12 of the record that you stated as follows:

Are you the man who committed the crime of trying to convert the leaders of the American Federation of Labor to the idea we should not go back to the conditions of 1926.

Did you make that statement or anything like that to him?

Miss KNEELAND. Yes, I did make a brief statement, interrupting Dr. Wirt's talk to object to the view which he was expressing that the desirable goal of our present effort should be the return to the conditions of 1926.

I do not recall the phrasing that I used in the brief remarks I was able to interject but I would not expect I would use such phrasing as he quoted me as using. It would not be natural for me to characterize as a crime the effort of any citizen to convert by persuasion or argument any other citizen to the views which he sincerely holds.

But I wish to make it clear that I do recall that I did interrupt to make an objection to the idea that the conditions of 1926 were an adequate goal for us at the present time.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Now, during the dinner and during the after-dinner discussion, which Dr. Wirt says consumed 3 hours, did you make any other statement at that meeting than the one to which you have just referred?

Miss KNEELAND. I believe I made two or three other statements, although I should not properly have called them statements. They were questions or interruptions to attempt to divert the flow of Dr. Wirt's talk. I have already testified that, I recall, that at one point I interrupted to say I would like to hear Mr. Coyle express his view on the subject.

Mr. O'CONNOR. On pages 13 and 14 of Dr. Wirt's testimony, he charges you with stating it was the opinion of Dr. Tugwell that the so-called "recovery" was an illusion, it was a speculation, and if he had had power he would have closed the commodity and the stock exchanges. First, was that subject ever discussed there?

Miss KNEELAND. It was not, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I never made any such statement, either quoting my own view or Dr. Tugwell's view. During that entire evening I did not mention Dr. Tugwell's name or the name of Secretary Wallace, and I do not recall anyone else mentioning either of those names.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did Dr. Wirt mention Dr. Tugwell or Secretary Wallace?

Miss KNEELAND. That I am not able to recall clearly, because Dr. Wirt talked almost 4 hours that evening, and I cannot recall all of the points he made. I will say this: I do not recall that he mentioned Dr. Tugwell's name.

Mr. O'CONNOR. On page 14, Dr. Wirt gives the impression that at this meeting he discussed a general summary of Dr. Tugwell's philosophy as stated in a particular article. Did he do that?

Miss KNEELAND. He did not, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. On page 13 Dr. Wirt specifically says that you said that Dr. Tugwell had said that we must first undo a century or more of development. Did you say any such thing?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was that subject discussed?

Miss KNEELAND. I do not recall that Dr. Wirt discussed that subject, and I know that no one of the few remarks the other people made that evening were on that point.

Mr. O'CONNOR. He also says on page 15—

Miss Kneeland made these statements, that they said that the first series of changes will have to do with statutes and the Constitution, and with the Government; that the intention of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries was to instill and protect the principle of conflict.

Did you make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not, sir. I never during that evening mentioned the statutes or the Constitution.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did anybody else, to your knowledge, make that statement?

Miss KNEELAND. Not to my remembrance.

Mr. O'CONNOR. He also says you said—

According to Dr. Tugwell, if we begin a plan we shall be changing once and for all, and this will require the laying on of rough, unholy hands on many a sacred precedent, and it will call for a greatly enlarged police enforcement department of the Federal Government.

Did you make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you hear anybody else make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. He also says that you, referring to Dr. Tugwell, said that—

It is a logical impossibility to have planned economy and to have business operating industry, just as also it is impossible to have our several present statutory and constitutional structures.

Did you make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you hear anybody else make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. On page 16, referring to this previous statement Dr. Wirt charges to you, he says—

She (meaning you, Miss Kneeland) was trying to give me what the main idea was of her group.

Were you trying to give Dr. Wirt any ideas?

Miss KNEELAND. I was not trying to give Dr. Wirt any ideas, unless my interjection in regard to the 1926 episode might be characterized as trying to give an idea.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Do you understand what Dr. Wirt means by referring to this "group" to which he claims you belong?

Miss KNEELAND. I do not understand what Dr. Wirt means by that. I belong to no group. It would have been impossible for me to have used the term.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you know the other persons present at the dinner?

Miss KNEELAND. I knew some of the other persons present at the dinner before this occasion.

Mr. O'CONNOR. How many did you know?

Miss KNEELAND. Miss Barrows, Miss Mary Taylor, Mr. Laurence Todd. I had not previously met Mr. Coyle, and I do not believe I had previously met Mr. Bruere, although I remember having seen him on earlier occasions.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Had you ever been in a meeting, or in the company of all of those people whom you knew there, on any previous occasion?

Miss KNEELAND. I had not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. On page 16, Dr. Wirt says that you said this to him, quoting this as your language: "Why don't we do something really worthwhile, the things we are doing so far are rather trivial." Did you make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you hear anybody else make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. On page 16, Dr. Wirt says, (you talking again, as he continually says you did most all of the talking), that you said: "Most of us have been quite free to predict that the institution of Soviet Russia would break down because of their failure to have a profit motive in the management of their business and their industry, and even today some of us go on saying that in the face of the real evidence of the matter." Did you make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you hear anybody else make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you hear "Soviet Russia" mentioned during the conversation?

Miss KNEELAND. I do not recall having heard Soviet Russia mentioned during the entire evening.

Mr. O'CONNOR. He also charges you, on page 16, with having said this: "Everything will be changed, if the linking of industry can finally be brought to completion in a plan." Did you make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you hear anybody else make such a statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was there any discussion that evening of "industry?"

Miss KNEELAND. I cannot be sure that I recall the scope of Dr. Wirt's remarks, but I assume he referred to industry in discussing the monetary policies which he did discuss at such length.

Mr. O'CONNOR. On page 16 Dr. Wirt states specifically that you quoted from a statement made by Dr. Tugwell. Is that true?

Miss KNEELAND. It is not so. I gave no quotations that evening from Dr. Tugwell. It would have been impossible for me to do so, because I did not know Dr. Tugwell's views, nor was I familiar with any of his writings.

Mr. O'CONNOR. He also says specifically that you said this: "Planning will have to be a function of the Federal Government, or, if it is not, a planning agency will have to take over the Government." Did you make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you hear anybody else make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was there any discussion that evening about taking over the Government?

Miss KNEELAND. There was not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was there any discussion about "overthrowing the Government"?

Miss KNEELAND. There was not one single bit of discussion in regard to overthrowing either the Government or the established American social order.

Mr. O'CONNOR. He also quotes you as saying this: "This final step that we will have to take would involve the principle of Americans having to learn how to meet the issue and submit to discipline that might be necessary and that if we accepted the principle of planning that we must understand it will compel the complete destruction of business as we know it in connection with the term *laissez-faire* industry." Did you make such a statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did anyone else make such a statement?

Miss KNEELAND. No one else made any such statement.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was that subject-matter ever discussed on this evening?

Miss KNEELAND. It was not, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. He also says you quoted Dr. Tugwell to this effect:

It was also recognized, in answer to my question, that Dr. Tugwell in this same formulation of the philosophy of the planned economy had called attention particularly to the fact that this situation in the United States has explosive possibilities.

Did you make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not, sir; and I should like to add that during that entire evening I do not recall that Dr. Wirt asked any single question of anyone else there. He was distinctly not seeking information; he was giving it.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was the subject matter of this statement which I have just quoted to you discussed at that meeting?

Miss KNEELAND. It was not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. He also quotes you on page 17, as quoting from Dr. Tugwell, as follows:

Many people in the state that we were in in the depth of this depression would welcome a planned economy because they long for security.

Did you make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you quote Dr. Tugwell as making any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was any such statement made on that occasion?

Miss KNEELAND. It was not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. He also states that you kept referring to Dr. Tugwell's "philosophy"; at that time did you know Dr. Tugwell's "philosophy"?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Do you know it today?

Miss KNEELAND. I do not know it today.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Now, on page 18 Dr. Wirt makes this statement, that you, Miss Kneeland, said this:

By thwarting our then evident recovery we would then be able to prolong the country's destitution.

Did you make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I most emphatically did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did any of the other persons there make such a statement?

Miss KNEELAND. No, sir; no one there made such a statement.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was that subject discussed that evening?

Miss KNEELAND. It was not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Now, Dr. Wirt at the bottom of page 18 says that you and Miss Taylor and Mr. Todd made this statement—prior to this time the alleged statements had been by you and by no one else—but he says that three people made this statement: "We believe we have Mr. Roosevelt in the middle of a swift stream." Did you make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did anybody else make any such statement?

Miss KNEELAND. No one during that evening made such a statement.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you hear the name "Kerensky" mentioned that evening?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did anybody mention it?

Miss KNEELAND. Nobody.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Is there any other particular part of this testimony of Dr. Wirt which you care to deny categorically now?

Miss KNEELAND. No; I have already stated that the only part of the conversation to which Dr. Wirt testified which took place on that evening was the statement which I made in regard to conditions of 1926.

Mr. O'CONNOR. When you refer to the conditions of 1926 were you talking about the prosperity as it existed then?

Miss KNEELAND. I was not talking in regard to the conditions of 1926. I objected to the idea of a return to those conditions as being an adequate goal for us at the present time. I was distinctly not objecting to the return to the prosperity of 1926. I am confident that this country is able to go on to a much greater prosperity than existed in 1926, although I recognize that there was a prosperity there that was much greater than this country had enjoyed in earlier times.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. ARNOLD. You had reference to a more general distributed prosperity in your last statement.

Miss KNEELAND. What was in my mind when I objected to Dr. Wirt's statement was that I did feel that this country would and should go forward to a prosperity that was greater and was more evenly distributed through the population.

Mr. ARNOLD. No further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. LEHLBACH. By what means is this country to achieve prosperity which will exceed that of 1926, and bring a wider diffusion of that prosperity among all of the people?

Miss KNEELAND. I regret, sir, that I am unable to answer that question. I wish that I did know the answer to it.

Mr. LEHLBACH. You must have had something in mind when you said that a return to the conditions of 1926 was undesirable. Will you give us a picture of the conditions which you think more desirable.

Miss KNEELAND. The conditions which I think are more desirable than those of 1926 include a higher standard of living for the masses of the people, both wage earners and the farmers of the country. The conditions I picture as more desirable than those of 1926 include a far greater security in regard to their jobs and in regard to regular and assured sources of income than existed in 1926.

The conditions which I would like to see include the wiping out of the employment that did exist even in 1926—I mean the wiping out of the unemployment which did exist at that time.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Has the Government an agency through which that condition can be brought about?

Miss KNEELAND. I believe the Government can do many things to bring about a more prosperous condition in this country.

Mr. LEHLBACH. All right, let us have some of those things that the Government can do.

Miss KNEELAND. I am sorry to have to take the time of this distinguished group to express my views in regard to what the Government might do, but I would include among those actions some measures which might be called purely regulatory, in the attempt to wipe out child labor and the attempt to do away with unemployment.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Just how would the Government first do away completely with unemployment?

Miss KNEELAND. I have already stated that I do not have a panacea for bringing about a greater prosperity in this country. I do not know just what measures should be followed at this time to bring us out of this depression into a greater prosperity than we have ever had.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Let us go back to your statement of a moment ago, that the Government could do many things. Just show us what it could do, and how, under our form of government, it is possible for the Government to do these things.

Miss KNEELAND. The Government could, if it so desired, pass legislation in regard to minimum wages. It could pass legislation in regard to the control of the stock market. It could pass legislation in regard to the banking regulations of the country. It could pass legislation in regard to unemployment insurance, if it wished to; in regard to mothers' pensions, old-age insurance.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Legislation recently enacted and now pending in Congress does not reach to the point that you desire the Government to function in order to bring about this new era. How further with respect to wages, for instance, and how can the Government enforce a standard of wages that it might legislate?

Miss KNEELAND. Again, sir, I must say that I do not know what measures the Government should follow to bring about better conditions. I wish I did know, but I do not.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Can the Government completely abolish unemployment and enforce throughout all industry and in agriculture an adequate standard of living, which, of course, means the payment of adequate wages in every instance and an adequate return to the farmer for his labors on his soil other than by taking over the business and the agriculture of the country?

Miss KNEELAND. I do not know, sir, whether the Government can do that.

Mr. LEHLBACH. If it were necessary in order to bring about the condition that the Government take over industry and agriculture, would you favor it?

Miss KNEELAND. I most certainly would, sir.

Mr. LEHLBACH. That is all.

Miss KNEELAND. If that action were necessary to bring about greater prosperity to the population of the country, I would be in favor of that action.

Mr. LEHLBACH. That is all.

Mr. McGUGIN. Do you think that the Government taking over all the farms and industries would do that?

Miss KNEELAND. I do not, sir.

Mr. McGUGIN. But you have no other way to suggest by which it might be done?

Miss KNEELAND. I am sorry to say, sir, that I have not.

Mr. McGUGIN. Now, at your meeting, you say, as I understood it, in an answer to Mr. O'Connor, that you do not remember anyone mentioning Soviet Russia—at this party, I am referring to.

Miss KNEELAND. I do not.

Mr. McGUGIN. Do you remember Laurence Todd saying anything at that party?

Miss KNEELAND. Yes; I remember a few comments made. I remember Mr. Todd did make some remarks during that evening.

Mr. McGUGIN. And during those remarks he never mentioned Soviet Russia?

Miss KNEELAND. I do not recall his mentioning Soviet Russia. In fact, I am sure he did not in my hearing.

Mr. McGUGIN. Now, you are in the Agricultural Department and a bureau chief, is that right?

Miss KNEELAND. I am not a bureau chief. I am chief of the Economics Division of the Bureau of Home Economics.

Mr. McGUGIN. Getting back to this dinner party, I want to ask you, did you know that Dr. Tugwell had made the following statement before the American Economics Association, and did you mention this statement? I am quoting Dr. Tugwell:

Many observers are observing the contemporary Russian practice and are recording carefully the experience there which later may be of assistance to us; for instance, my "experimental control in Russian industry" also Heinrichs and Brown, "The Planned Economy of Soviet Russia."

Did you know anything about that statement made by Professor Tugwell and did you mention that statement at that meeting?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not know Dr. Tugwell ever made that statement and I did not mention that statement at that meeting.

Mr. McGUGIN. Did you know that Dr. Tugwell made the following statement to the American Economics Association, and did you mention this statement at that dinner? I quote:

Most of us ought not to have been quite so free in our predictions that the institutions of Soviet Russia would break down from a failure of a profit motive. Yet some of us have gone on saying that even in the face of evidence. Not more than a month ago a past president of this association assured me again, as he had done before, that here was the source of weakness which must finally ruin all the Russian plans.

Did you know that Dr. Tugwell made that statement before the American Economics Association and did you mention that statement at that dinner?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not know he had made the statement and I did not mention the statement.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did anybody else mention the statement?

Miss KNEELAND. No one else mentioned the statement.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Did you know that Professor Tugwell made the following statement before the American Economics Association and did you mention it at that meeting? I quote:

We have a century and more of development to undo. The institutions of *laissez faire* have become so much a part of the fabric of modern life that the untangling and removing of their tissues will be almost like dispensing with civilization itself. We shall all of us be made unhappy in one way or another; for things we love as well as things that are only privileges, will have to go. But we shall have to see, no doubt, a wholesale sacrifice of such things, like it as little as we may.

Did you know Professor Tugwell made that statement before the American Economics Association and did you quote it at that dinner?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not know that Dr. Tugwell had made such a statement, and I did not quote such a statement.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did anybody else quote such a statement?

Miss KNEELAND. No one else did quote such a statement.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Did you know that that is the theory of Professor Tugwell, that in order to have a planned economy we must undo a century or more of development, that there must be three great changes; first, uprooting statutes and constitutions; second, completely destroy our industry as industry has been operated in America; and third, completely destroy the sovereignty of the States?

Did you know that that was the theory of Dr. Tugwell and did you mention it at that meeting?

Miss KNEELAND. Again my answer is no to both questions.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Do you know whether that is Dr. Tugwell's theory now?

Miss KNEELAND. I do not, except as it has just been read to me as a statement which he has issued.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Do you know that Dr. Tugwell, in support of that theory, said the following to the American Economics Association:

The first series of changes will have to do with statutes, with constitutions, and with government. We shall be changing once for all, and it will require the laying of rough unholy hands on many a sacred precedent, doubtless calling on an enlarged and nationalized police power for enforcement.

The next series of changes will have to do with industry itself. It has already been suggested that business be required to disappear. This is not an overstatement for the sake of emphasis; it is literally meant.

Furthermore, we shall have to progress sufficiently far in elementary realism to recognize that only the Federal area, and often not even that, is large enough to be coextensive with modern industry; and that consequently the States are wholly ineffective instruments for control.

Did you know that Dr. Tugwell made those statements to the American Economics Association and did you quote them to Dr. Wirt at that meeting?

Miss KNEELAND. I did not know Dr. Tugwell made those statements and I did not quote them to Dr. Wirt at that meeting.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Were those statements ever mentioned by anybody at that meeting?

Miss KNEELAND. They were not, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against the further reading of the statements alleged to have been made by Dr. Tugwell and the confronting of this witness with them, for the reason that this witness says that she has never read any statement of Dr. Tugwell, that no statements of Dr. Tugwell were mentioned at the meeting; that Dr. Tugwell's name was not mentioned at the meeting; that his philosophy or views were not mentioned at the meeting, and that to further pursue this line of inquiry is going far afield, not only from the Rand statement, but it is apparent to the committee that this witness has no knowledge of it and it is only a method of inserting in this record some views which Dr. Tugwell may or may not entertain. It has nothing to do with this proceeding, and more particularly it has nothing to do with this witness.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Kansas is asking the witness whether she made these statements on this occasion at this dinner. This is cross-examination. When a witness on testimony in chief makes an assertion, that is not any reason why the cross-examination on that statement which was made in the direct testimony, should not be allowed.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Oh, the gentleman does not really believe that this is cross-examination. The gentleman knows the motive behind this just as well as we do.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I am not questioning anyone's motives who is a member of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state to the gentleman from New Jersey that the Chair does not think the gentleman from New Jersey thinks his contention is right.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Yes, I do. Otherwise I would not make it. This is cross-examination.

The CHAIRMAN. Because there was nothing said by Dr. Wirt in what has just been read as having been mentioned at that dinner.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LEHLBACH. It is competent at least to test the memory of the witness in cross-examination.

The CHAIRMAN. As far as the Chair is concerned, he has no objection to going on with it. The only question is, I do not know whether Dr. Tugwell ever said that, and no one else does, as far as we know here.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Dr. Wirt, in his direct testimony, testified that Miss Kneeland quoted frequently from Professor Tugwell's speech to the American Economics Association.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Oh, no. He never mentioned any particular speech.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Yes, he did.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Search the record.

Mr. MCGUGIN. And these questions which I am asking pertain to the views of Professor Tugwell and are exclusively from his speech before the American Economics Association.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The American Economics Association has not been mentioned in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not mentioned a single time and was not mentioned by Dr. Wirt.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Or any particular utterance of Dr. Wirt pinning it down to the publication or on what occasion it was made. The words "Dr. Tugwell's philosophy" are the nearest identity of when and where he said anything, if ever.

Mr. MCGUGIN. His philosophy is entirely set forth in his speech before the American Economics Association and the quotations which Dr. Wirt testified to, and said that Miss Kneeland frequently referred to, are from this speech of Professor Tugwell before the American Economics Association.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing in the record to show what speech or what writing of Dr. Tugwell was referred to at that September 1 meeting or dinner. The Chair is of the opinion that the point of order should be sustained as to this line of questions.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I may assure the Chair that no quotation I am making from Professor Tugwell is a quotation from any other speech of Professor Tugwell except his own speech before the American Economics Association.

The CHAIRMAN. But that was not mentioned in this record.

Mr. MCGUGIN. And the statements that Dr. Wirt attributed to this witness, wherein she offered as her authority the statements of Professor Tugwell, as nearly as I can find out, are entirely found in this speech.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman look at his record and point out where that was mentioned?

Mr. MCGUGIN. I just asked her about this statement concerning undoing a century or more of development.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about the record of the previous hearing.

Mr. MCGUGIN. That was specifically mentioned by Dr. Wirt. The chairman will remember it; that that statement came from Dr. Tugwell's speech before the American Economics Association.

Mr. O'CONNOR. So the gentleman from Kansas says, but we do not know it and the witness does not know it.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Well, you can find out, if you will go to the Congressional Library and get the minutes of the forty-fourth annual meeting of the American Economics Association and read Professor Tugwell's speech.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sustains the point of order and directs the gentleman to proceed with his examination along different lines.

Mr. LEHLBACH. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Miss Kneeland, you are an economist?

Miss KNEELAND. I am, sir. I hold my doctor's degree in economics.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Whom do you consider the most reliable authorities on the subject of political economy, the present-day authorities?

Miss KNEELAND. On the subject of economics?

Mr. LEHLBACH. On the subject of political economy?

Miss KNEELAND. I consider Wesley Clair Mitchell as one of the leaders in economics at the present time.

Mr. LEHLBACH. And are there some other authorities?

Miss KNEELAND. Yes, sir; I have very great respect for the views of Dr. Walton H. Hamilton, who was one of the instructors under whom I took my doctor's degree.

Mr. LEHLBACH. In what university?

Miss KNEELAND. In the Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Of course such economists as William Graham Sumner and Arthur T. Hadley are entirely out-moded at present, are they not?

Miss KNEELAND. I do not know anything about Mr. Hadley as an economist. I have always thought of Mr. William Graham Sumner as a sociologist. He may be an economist. I know very little of his views.

Mr. LEHLBACH. They are both economists, and pretty good ones, too.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. McGugin.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Miss Kneeland, you have never read any of the speeches or articles of Professor Tugwell?

Miss KNEELAND. I have not read any of them, sir.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You know none of his philosophies of government?

Miss KNEELAND. Except as there is general comment on them in the papers, which is known to everyone.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Do you know Professor Tugwell is a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, and that a committee of the New York State Legislature, back in 1928, stated:

The American Civil Liberties Union, in the last analysis, is a supporter of all subversive movements. Its propaganda is detrimental to the interests of the State. It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form.

Do you know that is so?

Miss KNEELAND. I do not know.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Are you a member of the American Civil Liberties Union?

Miss KNEELAND. I have made contributions to the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. O'CONNOR. When was that?

Miss KNEELAND. I cannot recall, sir; but I am sure it has been in the last 10 years.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was that when you were in the employ of the Government under a Republican administration?

Miss KNEELAND. For several years I made a small contribution. As I recall, it was something like \$5; maybe even less, to the American Civil Liberties Union. As far as my memory goes, those contributions started some years ago, when I first came to Washington. That would necessarily have to have been during a Republican administration.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Miss Kneeland, in your testimony you have stated that you made contributions to the American Civil Liberties Union. When you did so, did you know that a committee of the House of Representatives, composed of two Republicans and two Democratic, namely, Hamilton Fish, Jr., Carl G. Bachmann, Edward E. Esleck, and Robert S. Hall, made this finding in their report:

The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the communistic movement in the United States—

The CHAIRMAN. Would the gentleman state to the witness what time that report was made?

Mr. McGUGIN. It was during the Seventy-first Congress, January 17, 1931, in which the report was made as follows:

The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the communistic movement in the United States and fully 90 percent of its efforts are on behalf of Communists who have come in conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press, and free assembly, but it is quite apparent that the main function of the American Civil Liberties Union is to attempt to protect the Communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the Government, replacing the American flag by a "red flag" and erecting a soviet government in place of the republican form of government guaranteed to each State by the Federal Constitution.

That report was signed by Hamilton Fish, Jr., chairman, Republican; Carl G. Bachmann, Republican; Edward E. Esleck, Democrat; and Robert S. Hall, Democrat.

You knew nothing about that finding when contributing to that organization?

Miss KNEELAND. I knew nothing about it.

The CHAIRMAN. The contributions that you made were made prior to that time, prior to 1931?

Miss KNEELAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you could not have known of the report, because the report was not written yet?

Mr. LEHLBACH. I would not suggest that the chairman was leading the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Not at all.

Mr. LEHLBACH. The witness at no time said that she made no contribution since January 1931.

The CHAIRMAN. She said it was shortly after she came here.

Mr. LEHLBACH. She said it was in the last 10 years.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you come here?

Miss KNEELAND. I came here in 1924.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the Coolidge administration?

Miss KNEELAND. Yes, sir; under a Republican administration. I do not remember when my last contribution was made.

Mr. McGUGIN. Could it have been made since January 1931?

Miss KNEELAND. Frankly, sir, I do not recall.

Mr. McGUGIN. Do you know the committee made the further finding:

The committee of the New York State Legislature back in 1928 reached the following conclusion in regard to the American Civil Liberties Union [quoting from the New York State Legislature report]:

"The American Civil Liberties Union, in the last analysis, is a supporter of all subversive movements. Its propaganda is detrimental to the interests of the State. It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form."

Your committee concurs with the above finding.

That is signed by Hamilton Fish, Jr., Carl G. Bachmann, Edward E. Esleck, and Robert S. Hall.

Do you know anything about that?

Miss KNEELAND. I do not, and when I have made contributions, sir, to the American Civil Liberties Union I have not thought that those views in any way represented their interests or their efforts.

Mr. McGUGIN. Do you think that the Legislature of the State of New York and the congressional committee of the House of Representatives, composed of 2 Republicans and 2 Democrats, when making those findings, made findings which are wholly wrong?

Miss KNEELAND. I do not feel that I am competent to pass on those findings. I have not followed the activities, so far as the American Civil Liberties Union is concerned, with any closeness whatever, at any time.

Mr. LEHLBACH. What is your own belief on the subject?

Miss KNEELAND. My belief is that those findings misrepresent the views and the efforts of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Miss Kneeland, have you made any effort to "protect crime?"

Miss KNEELAND. I cannot think of any effort of mine that could be so characterized; no, sir. As I gather further the meaning of your question, I have not made any effort whatever to protect crime.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Or to overthrow the Government?

Miss KNEELAND. Or to overthrow the Government.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Or to put a "red" flag on the dome of the Capitol?

Miss KNEELAND. I have never attempted to put a "red" flag on the dome of the Capitol.

The CHAIRMAN. Next witness. Thank you very much, Miss Kneeland.

Miss Taylor is next.

TESTIMONY OF MARY TAYLOR

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may examine the witness, Mr. Arnold.

Mr. ARNOLD. Give your name to the reporter.

Miss TAYLOR. Mary Taylor.

Mr. ARNOLD. Where do you reside?

Miss TAYLOR. In Washington.

Mr. ARNOLD. Are you in the employ of the Government?

Miss TAYLOR. I am. I am in the employ of the Office of the Consumers' Council of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Mr. ARNOLD. How long have you been in the employ of the Government?

Miss TAYLOR. Since 1931.

Mr. ARNOLD. Are you under civil service?

Miss TAYLOR. I am not.

Mr. ARNOLD. You are not?

Miss TAYLOR. Not at the present time.

Mr. ARNOLD. What were you engaged in prior to your entry into the Government service?

Miss TAYLOR. I was in the export business in New York City.

Mr. ARNOLD. In what capacity?

Miss TAYLOR. Sales and advertising account executive.

Mr. ARNOLD. How long had you been in that line of work?

Miss TAYLOR. Something over 3 years.

Mr. ARNOLD. I wish you would detail briefly what your duties are in your present Government position.

Miss TAYLOR. My duties in my present Government position are to edit a bulletin published by the Consumers Council, called the Consumers' Guide, which reports on changes in prices of farm products, particularly foods, and also developments in the agricultural program.

Mr. ARNOLD. How long have you been in that particular line of work?

Miss TAYLOR. Since the bulletin was started last August.

Mr. ARNOLD. And what were you doing in the Government service prior to that time?

Miss TAYLOR. I was in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, in the Chemical Division, in charge of the section handling matters dealing with medicines and toilet preparations, particularly in the foreign-trade aspect of those matters.

Mr. ARNOLD. Were you at the dinner party given at the home over in Virginia on the evening of the 1st of September?

Miss TAYLOR. Yes; I was.

Mr. ARNOLD. Who was present at that dinner, if you know?

Miss TAYLOR. Miss Barrows, Miss Kneeland, Mr. Coyle, Mr. Bruere, Mr. Todd, and myself, in addition to Dr. Wirt.

Mr. ARNOLD. Were you acquainted with all those people prior to that time?

Miss TAYLOR. I was not.

Mr. ARNOLD. Whom were you acquainted with in that party prior to that evening?

Miss TAYLOR. I knew all but Mr. Coyle.

Mr. ARNOLD. What time did you arrive at that dinner party that evening?

Miss TAYLOR. I was there when the party sat down to dinner.

Mr. ARNOLD. What was the general subject at that dinner table that evening?

Miss TAYLOR. The conversation at the dinner table was in regard to the Gary school system.

Mr. ARNOLD. Who participated in that conversation generally?

Miss TAYLOR. The conversation was scarcely a conversation. Dr. Wirt explained at great length, with only an occasional interruption in the form of a question, on different aspects of the school system. He engaged in an extended discussion of its various curricular and extracurricular activities.

Mr. ARNOLD. Now, after the dinner party, where did you go?

Miss TAYLOR. After dinner we went into the living room and had coffee, and were seated around in a circle, and stayed there for something over 2 hours, or approximately 3 hours, while Dr. Wirt talked, as described by Miss Barrows and Miss Kneeland.

Mr. ARNOLD. Was that a large room?

Miss TAYLOR. No; it was a relatively small room.

Mr. ARNOLD. Were you in position to hear the conversation there that evening?

Miss TAYLOR. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. ARNOLD. Did you hear all the conversation that took place at that time?

Miss TAYLOR. I did.

Mr. ARNOLD. Have you read the testimony of Dr. Wirt, that was taken on the former hearing?

Miss TAYLOR. Yes; I have.

Mr. ARNOLD. Are you familiar with the statements made by Dr. Wirt while he was on the witness stand at that time?

Miss TAYLOR. I was not familiar with them until I read them in his testimony.

Mr. ARNOLD. Dr. Wirt, it seems from his testimony, had the greater portion of his conversation with Miss Kneeland.

Miss TAYLOR. Dr. Wirt really had no conversation. The monologue continued, first on education during the dinner hour, and next on the deflation of the dollar after dinner, with only an occasional interruption, and it struck me that at any time a question was raised or presented to him, and his recitation stopped, that he assumed a most pained expression.

Mr. ARNOLD. Was there anything in that conversation said about Soviet Russia?

Miss TAYLOR. Nothing said about Soviet Russia.

Mr. ARNOLD. Was there anything in that conversation said about Mr. Roosevelt being the Kerensky of this revolution?

Miss TAYLOR. There was not.

Mr. ARNOLD. Was there anything in that conversation said about being out in the middle of the stream?

Miss TAYLOR. There was nothing of the sort said.

Mr. ARNOLD. You heard the testimony of Miss Barrows and Miss Kneeland here today?

Miss TAYLOR. Yes; I have.

Mr. ARNOLD. I will get you to state, in a general way, what is your version of what took place there that night with reference to the matters to which they have testified.

Miss TAYLOR. I am in complete agreement with both of them; that the subject of the conversation, in the first place, during dinner was on education, particularly in Gary; that the conversation after dinner had to do with Dr. Wirt's own theories and was participated in only by him, with a very occasional interruption.

Mr. ARNOLD. To what extent did you participate in that conversation?

Miss TAYLOR. Practically nothing. During dinner I raised some minor questions which had to do with the Gary school system. After dinner I did not participate in the conversation.

Mr. ARNOLD. But you heard what was said there?

Miss TAYLOR. I heard what was said.

Mr. ARNOLD. Now, I will get you to state to the committee whether or not the statements made by Dr. Wirt as to what transpired in that conversation that evening were true or not.

Miss TAYLOR. The statements made by Dr. Wirt, as given in his testimony, as to what transpired at that so-called "dinner", are not true.

Mr. ARNOLD. Was there any discussion along the lines testified to by Dr. Wirt?

Miss TAYLOR. Yes; I make one exception on that. I remember very distinctly the point made by Miss Kneeland in regard to conditions in 1926. As I remember it, that came in in the form of a question only, but there was no assertion of fact nor statement of point of view, any more than is involved in the general idea: "Are you suggesting that we go back?"

Mr. ARNOLD. Now, had you met with these people who were at that dinner party there on that night on previous occasions?

Miss TAYLOR. I had never met with the other five on previous occasions, nor have I met with them since.

Mr. ARNOLD. Do you belong to any group of people which have any of the purposes outlined by Dr. Wirt in his testimony?

Miss TAYLOR. I do not.

Mr. ARNOLD. Is there such a group as that, to your knowledge?

Miss TAYLOR. To my knowledge, there is no such group.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Connor.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Miss Taylor, as I have examined Dr. Wirt's testimony, you were only specifically mentioned twice. On page 14 he attributes the same statement to you and Miss Kneeland, and, as I understand it, the statement appears upon page 13 that in the opinion of Dr. Tugwell the so-called "recovery" was an illusion; it was a speculation, and if he had had the power he would have closed the commodity and stock market exchanges. Did you make any such statement?

Miss TAYLOR. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you quote from Dr. Tugwell?

Miss TAYLOR. No, sir; not at all.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did anybody else make any such statement?

Miss TAYLOR. No, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was Dr. Tugwell's name mentioned that evening?

Miss TAYLOR. I did not hear Dr. Tugwell's name mentioned.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The only other occasion on which Dr. Wirt refers to you is at the bottom of page 18, where he attributes to you and Miss Kneeland and Mr. Todd this statement: "We believe that we have Mr. Roosevelt in the middle of a swift stream." Now, you have said that you did not make any such statement, as I understand it?

Miss TAYLOR. Exactly.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you hear anybody else make any such statement?

Miss TAYLOR. No, I did not hear anyone else make such a statement.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Or anything like it?

Miss TAYLOR. Or anything approaching it.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Do you live in New York City?

Miss TAYLOR. That is my legal residence.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did Dr. Wirt, in discussing the Gary school system, narrate his experiences in trying to install that system in New York City?

Miss TAYLOR. No; he did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is all.

Mr. LEHLBACH. No questions.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Miss Taylor, I understood you to say in answer to Mr. O'CONNOR that you belonged to no group which has ideas hostile to our Government. Do you belong to the Civil Liberties Union?

Miss TAYLOR. No; I do not.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Did you ever belong to it?

Miss TAYLOR. I have never belonged to it.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Have you an appointive position or a civil service position?

Miss TAYLOR. I am in an appointive position.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Who appointed you?

Miss TAYLOR. To my present position?

Mr. MCGUGIN. Yes.

Miss TAYLOR. The Administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Did Dr. Howe have anything to do with your appointment?

Miss TAYLOR. Dr. Howe recommended it.

Mr. McGUGIN. What office are you in?

Miss TAYLOR. I am in the office of Dr. Frederick C. Howe, who is consumers' counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Mr. McGUGIN. He is the same Frederick C. Howe who was Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island in 1919 and who resigned after Representative LaGuardia, now mayor of New York, made his speech on the floor of the House. The speech is as follows:

Now, Mr. Chairman, we have fixed laws in this country on the question of immigration, and whether Dr. Howe believes in the laws or not, it is his sworn duty to enforce them. He is entitled to his personal opinions and to express them, but he must administer the law as he finds it. I want to call the attention of the House—and a great deal was said today about anarchists—to the provision in the immigration law pertaining to anarchists.

We are able to take care of the anarchists in New York City by our municipal police, but after we get these anarchists and turn them over to the Immigration Office at Ellis Island, we find that the Immigration Commissioner, instead of deporting them according to law, acts as their counsel.

Is he the same Frederic C. Howe?

Miss TAYLOR. I know Dr. Frederic C. Howe was Commissioner of Immigration. I know nothing at all about the charges brought in that statement against him.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Do you know whether Mr. LaGuardia made the statement?

Miss TAYLOR. I do not.

Mr. McGUGIN. You have never had occasion to read the Congressional Record of June 21, 1919, page 1522?

Miss TAYLOR. No. I am in the recovery administration. It has nothing to do with that.

Mr. McGUGIN. At this meeting in Virginia, did you make the statement, "Why don't we do something worth while? There are so many of our group in the Government?"

Miss TAYLOR. In the first place, I do not recognize the expression "many of our group". I do not know what that means. I have no connection, even remote connection, with any group. I do not know the existence of one. Obviously I could not have made such a statement.

Mr. McGUGIN. Are you the publisher of the Consumers' Guide, put out by the Consumers' Counsel?

Miss TAYLOR. I edit it.

Mr. McGUGIN. In the issue of April 9, 1934, did you make this statement?

To earn a share in the money a farmer must become a partner in the Government's new experiment in planned agriculture.

Miss TAYLOR. Yes; I did.

Mr. McGUGIN. Will you tell the committee what you mean by planned agriculture?

Miss TAYLOR. I mean the program of production control applying to the basic farm commodities now in effect by act of Congress.

Mr. McGUGIN. Do you believe in using compulsion on a farmer to reduce his production in order to bring about this planned agriculture?

Miss TAYLOR. I do not have an opinion on the question of compulsory cooperation.

Mr. McGUGIN. You are the one who is the editor and the publisher of this Consumers' Guide?

Miss TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. McGUGIN. Does not a planned agriculture of necessity mean that it must be forced; the cooperation must be forced?

Miss TAYLOR. Cooperation under the method of production control now in effect is not compulsory.

Mr. McGUGIN. I know, but you used the words "planned agriculture" did you not?

Miss TAYLOR. I take it there are degrees of planning.

Mr. McGUGIN. Do you regard planned agriculture and planned economy as the same things? Planned economy would include industry and agriculture both, while planned agriculture would include only agriculture. Is that your statement?

Miss TAYLOR. Planned agriculture would be part of a planned economy.

Mr. McGUGIN. Professor Tugwell is Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, is that not right?

Miss TAYLOR. It is.

Mr. McGUGIN. He has an important part in carrying out this agricultural program does he not?

Miss TAYLOR. He is not in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. He is Assistant Secretary of Agriculture and therefore is not responsible for administering the act passed by Congress.

Mr. McGUGIN. But he has much to say about the working out of this planned agriculture that you speak of.

Miss TAYLOR. As my capacity in this administration is so minor, I could not possibly say what hand Dr. Tugwell has in the execution of that act.

Mr. McGUGIN. So minor? You are writing this propaganda that goes out to the farmers of the United States telling them what your program is, are you not?

Miss TAYLOR. It is not propaganda.

Mr. McGUGIN. Well, what do you want to call it?

Miss TAYLOR. I am simply stating the facts in regard to the administration's program in the movement of farm prices.

Mr. McGUGIN. Then you know that there is a planned agriculture in this program of the Agricultural Department, is that right?

Miss TAYLOR. In the sense of the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

Mr. McGUGIN. Professor Tugwell has publicly stated that it is a logical impossibility to have a planned economy and to have business operating its industries, just as it is also impossible to have one within our present constitutional and statutory structure; modifications of both so serious as to constitute a rebeginning are required.

If that is Professor Tugwell's theory of planned economy, then that theory is being reflected in the planned agricultural program of the Department at this time, is it not?

Miss TAYLOR. Dr. Tugwell's theories are quite distinct from acts of Congress. The agricultural program was passed by an act of Congress and has nothing to do with Dr. Tugwell's theories.

Mr. McGUGIN. He is Assistant Secretary of Agriculture and is one of the chief administrators, is he not?

Miss TAYLOR. He does not administer the Agricultural Adjustment Act, to my knowledge.

Mr. McGUGIN. And if Professor Tugwell has given it as his view publicly in his speech to the effect that there is no private business, if by that we mean one of no consequence to any one but its proprietors and, so, one exempt from compulsion to serve a planned public interest—if that is his view, is not your program of a planned agriculture being molded to those views of Dr. Tugwell's?

Miss TAYLOR. I know nothing of Dr. Tugwell's views. I know nothing at all of the document that you are reading from.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Do you know what that document is?

Miss TAYLOR. I do not.

Mr. McGUGIN. That is his speech before the American Economics Association.

Now, Miss Taylor, I wish that you would be a little more explanatory as to what you mean by this term "planned agriculture" in this statement that you are putting out.

Mr. ARNOLD. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that the gentleman from Kansas is going entirely outside the purview of this investigation. I do not think that the inquiry should be pursued along this line any further as it is not material to the issue that is before us.

Mr. McGUGIN. Mr. Chairman, if it develops that this witness, who is in the Agricultural Department—

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is not correct. She is not in the Department of Agriculture.

Mr. McGUGIN. Or the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. That is part of it.

Mr. O'CONNOR. It is a separate Administration presided over by an Administrator and so far as I know Dr. Tugwell has nothing to do with it. Is that correct?

Miss TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. McGUGIN. If it develops from this witness—and she surely knows what planned agriculture is, because she is writing about it and she is the official editor of this publication—that planned agriculture is Dr. Tugwell's theory, which means Government ownership and operation of land, then we have established that here at least is one department of the Federal Government that is ignoring the public, under the Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; but the witness answered that a few minutes ago by saying that the Agricultural Adjustment Act was an Act of Congress for which you and I and other members of the committee voted. It is being administered under a separate organization. The chair sustains the point of order. Proceed with the examination along different lines.

Mr. McGUGIN. Miss Taylor, are you proceeding in your department with any program by which the land of the United States is being controlled by the Government?

Mr. ARNOLD. I make the point of order against the interrogation. The gentleman is entirely outside the purview of the investigation.

Miss TAYLOR. That is a perfectly simple question to answer.

Mr. ARNOLD. I will withdraw the point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is withdrawn.

Miss TAYLOR. The administration is concerned solely with the administration of an act of Congress.

Mr. MCGUGIN. That is what I thought, too; but Dr. Tugwell, in his speech in Philadelphia on the 29th day of December, made the statement that the Government is now proceeding with a land program for the first time which will control the land, the greatest of all natural resources, not alone for the benefit of the man who happens to hold title to the land.

Now, under what law is that program being carried out in your department?

Miss TAYLOR. I think you will have to take account of my previous answers as to that. To my knowledge, the Agricultural Adjustment Act concerns itself primarily in the first case with the production control program for agricultural crops; secondarily, with marketing agreements and codes governing the distribution of agricultural products.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I quite agree with you.

Miss TAYLOR. There is nothing in that act that concerns itself with any broad, vague, indefinite generalizations as to the control of land.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Certainly not. But is not the act being perverted in the administration of it, so that it is controlling the land, and it is through the perversion of that act that Professor Tugwell makes the statement that the Government now has a land control, not for the benefit of the man who happens to hold title to the land?

Miss TAYLOR. It is not being perverted in any way.

Mr. MCGUGIN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. We will call Mr. Todd.

TESTIMONY OF LAURENCE TODD

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name.

Mr. TODD. Laurence Todd.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. TODD. Washington, D.C.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your occupation?

Mr. TODD. News writer.

The CHAIRMAN. What papers or syndicate do you represent?

Mr. TODD. At the present time I am the correspondent in Washington for the Tass Agency, which is the Associated Press of the Soviet Union. At the time of this dinner I was employed chiefly by the Federated Press as correspondent, and I had been with them for 14 years. That was a labor press association.

The CHAIRMAN. In America?

Mr. TODD. Yes; throughout the United States. I was also doing some work, a minor part of my work, for the Tass Agency.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you known Dr. Wirt?

Mr. TODD. I met Dr. Wirt by being introduced across the dinner table at about 8 o'clock that night. I should say I left him at the Washington Hotel somewhere around midnight. Since then I have had no communication with Dr. Wirt in any way.

The CHAIRMAN. That was on the night of Friday, September 1, as shown in the record of the former hearing?

Mr. TODD. I assume that the date is correct. I would not remember it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you arrive there prior to the dinner?

Mr. TODD. No. I was late. I came in in the middle of the dinner.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was there?

Mr. TODD. Miss Barrows, Miss Kneeland, Miss Taylor, Mr. Bruere, Mr. Coyle, whom I met that evening for the first time.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you read the record of the hearing on April 10?

Mr. TODD. I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you read on page 18 and 19 where Dr. Wirt states that you, Miss Kneeland, and Miss Taylor said that you had Mr. Roosevelt in the middle of a stream?

Mr. TODD. I read that statement.

The CHAIRMAN. State to the committee whether or not you made such a statement or whether you heard any conversation like that.

Mr. TODD. I made no such statement. I did not hear any such statement made nor any statement which could possibly be distorted into such a statement.

The CHAIRMAN. At any time during that night was the President's name mentioned to your knowledge, or did you mention it?

Mr. TODD. I mentioned the President's name when, after 11 or 11:30, Dr. Wirt did me the honor to accept my hospitality in taking him 10 miles back to the city. I mentioned the President's name on our drive home. I am not certain whether there was anyone else in my car at the time I mentioned his name.

The CHAIRMAN. How did that conversation start? How did the President's name come up? What did you say?

Mr. TODD. I do not like to use any term describing a person who has talked nearly 5 hours continuously. But on the way home, seeking to divert the course of discussion from the deflation of the dollar, I did suggest to Dr. Wirt that unemployment remained the heart of the depression problem, that I believed that the President was tackling the unemployment problem, and I incidentally spoke of the President as being a very strong Executive, which was the exact reverse of the characterization he imputed to me, as to Mr. Roosevelt. I did so because I have been interested in unemployment all of my working life.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any other statement made by you to Dr. Wirt during that night at any time, that you can recall?

Mr. TODD. I do not recall any other statement. Dr. Wirt, as the other witnesses have indicated, was content to do the talking, and he did it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hear Miss Kneeland say any of the statements which Dr. Wirt in his testimony given before this committee attributed to her?

Mr. TODD. I heard none of those statements which he attributed to her.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she make any such statements in your presence?

Mr. TODD. I have only a vague recollection that as I was, as I recall, going out on the porch during his conversation, I did hear "1926" mentioned, but I could not at all recall how it was mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of anything you should tell this committee that you have not already stated?

Mr. TODD. Mr. Chairman, I would like, because I am correspondent for a foreign press association and because my belief and my present connection with that association has been played upon by Dr. Wirt as an agent of the Committee of the Nation, to make a very brief statement on that topic.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Chairman, that is exactly the privilege that was denied to Mr. Wirt.

Mr. TODD. Then I withdraw the application.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I think the witness should be allowed to make the statement. I want to be fair, even if you do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that statement that you want to make in reference to the dinner party that night?

Mr. TODD. I wish merely to call attention to the fact that my employment, beginning 2 months after this dinner, has nothing relevant to the dinner and hence I wish to put into the record my resentment of the use of the name of my employer, that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think under the rules of the committee, Mr. Todd, you can put that statement in.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I move that the gentleman proceed with his statement.

Mr. McGUGIN. I second the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The clerk will call the roll on the motion of the gentleman from New Jersey.

(The result of the vote was announced as 2 ayes and 3 noes. So the motion was defeated.)

Mr. O'CONNOR. I would like to ask a question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Todd, are you an American citizen?

Mr. TODD. I am.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I understand that you are a "Son of the Revolution." Your ancestors fought in the Revolution?

Mr. TODD. I never believed in joining those associations. But my people came to the New Haven Colony on the first shipload, and one of my ancestors was a colonel in the American Revolution. My paternal grandfather was one of the Michigan settlers who established the Republican Party at a meeting at Jackson, Mich.

Mr. O'CONNOR. At this meeting was there any discussion about overthrowing the existing social order?

Mr. TODD. There was not. There was no such conversation.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did Miss Kneeland have much to say at this dinner?

Mr. TODD. She did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Who did the talking?

Mr. TODD. Dr. Wirt.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did anybody else get a word in?

Mr. TODD. Mr. Bruere attempted I think on three occasions to divert the conversation to schools. He was unsuccessful.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Dr. Wirt charges you specifically with saying, "We all think that Mr. Roosevelt is only the Kerensky of this revolution." Did you make any such statement?

Mr. TODD. I did not. I would never have used the word "we" because there was nothing politically in common among the group of us.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Before this dinner, did you know these other persons who were present?

Mr. TODD. I did, except Mr. Coyle. I had never met Mr. Coyle nor Dr. Wirt.

Mr. O'CONNOR. You met Dr. Wirt for the first time that evening?

Mr. TODD. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Had you ever been in any gathering before where all of the parties whom you knew were present?

Mr. TODD. I assume I had several times. We have been friends for years.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was there any discussion that night about any group?

Mr. TODD. There was no discussion of any group, that is, in my presence. I was not always in the room, because I got a bit tired of the drift.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the what?

Mr. TODD. Of the drift of events, the monologue.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go?

Mr. TODD. I went out on the porch once.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Who was the monologist?

Mr. TODD. Dr. Wirt.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Dr. Wirt says in his testimony that you only spoke once. Are you sure you spoke once?

Mr. TODD. I feel quite sure I did not say anything while in the house. As I have already testified, I spoke to Dr. Wirt while I was driving him home to his hotel.

Mr. O'CONNOR. As to this business connection which you have as a representative of foreign newspapers in the Soviet Union——

Mr. TODD. It is a press association.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Has that anything to do with your attitude toward this Government?

Mr. TODD. No.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Are you one of those people who desire to see a red flag waving from the dome of the Capitol?

Mr. TODD. Mr. Chairman, I have explained that I am working for a foreign news service. That service is owned by a foreign government and that foreign government has a different social system than exists in the United States. I most respectfully request that whatever my private views may have been in the subject-matter, while it is well known I was always a Socialist, that my views, while I am not employed on any American newspaper work, and am not contributing to any American publication, should be my own.

It would be, in my opinion, a discourtesy on my part to discuss social and economic conditions of the United States publicly, in view of the courtesy shown to foreign correspondents by the various departments of the Government, and it would be a discourtesy on the part of any foreign correspondent to discuss such views, as well as on my part. Therefore I most respectfully request that my personal views be left to myself.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That night did you discuss any of your social or political views?

Mr. TODD. I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Were any political views discussed that evening?

Mr. TODD. Dr. Wirt's views were discussed.

Mr. O'CONNOR. On what subject?

Mr. TODD. I will say further that he was discussing schools at the table. Afterward he was discussing monetary matters, and he discussed his views on monetary matters virtually continuously, with scarcely a moment of interruption.

Mr. O'CONNOR. You do not recall any other subject of discussion?

Mr. TODD. I do not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey is recognized.

Mr. LEHLBACH. In what manner was the invitation to this dinner conveyed to you?

Mr. TODD. By telephone.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Was the purpose of the occasion of the dinner mentioned when you were invited?

Mr. TODD. Yes; I was asked to come out and meet Dr. Wirt, who I knew was a friend of Miss Barrows the hostess. I had never met Dr. Wirt and I said I would like to hear him discuss education, and I came out, though late.

Mr. LEHLBACH. You and the others at that dinner since this investigation started have discussed with each other your testimony here?

Mr. TODD. I have stated to one or two of them my astonishment and my chagrin that my foreign connection should be used to smear them. I have stated these things are untrue to the best of my memory, and I came to the office of the chairman of this committee to see that I would be sure of getting an opportunity to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. And you requested that subpoena be not issued to you.

Mr. TODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEHLBACH. All six of you were together on that occasion?

Mr. TODD. They were not.

Mr. LEHLBACH. You were all together this morning?

The CHAIRMAN. I was not in the office of the chairman at any time except on the day after Dr. Wirt's astonishing testimony.

Mr. LEHLBACH. It is well understood that extreme emphasis be placed on the fact that Dr. Wirt monopolized the conversation—was that not understood?

Mr. TODD. That did not need to be emphasized, Dr. Wirt emphasized that himself.

Mr. LEHLBACH. In discussing the fact that he monopolized the talk you indulge in gross exaggeration here on the stand, do you not?

Mr. TODD. I do not.

Mr. LEHLBACH. You said you met Dr. Wirt at 8 o'clock.

Mr. TODD. About 8 o'clock.

Mr. LEHLBACH. And shortly after 11 you started to drive him home.

Mr. TODD. I think that is correct.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Yet you say he talked continuously for 5 hours, from 8 to 11—3 hours.

Mr. TODD. Somewhere between 11 and 12 we started home. He was talking before I came there, but he talked continuously from the time I arrived. I think the stenographer's notes will show I testified somewhere between 11 and 12 we started home. It was after 11.

Mr. LEHLBACH. You said on the way it was somewhere between 11 and 11:30, and that was when you were starting home. Of course it took a few minutes to make your adieus and prepare to drive home, and you had gone along some distance on your way to your hotel, so that this 5 hours talking is an exaggeration.

Mr. TODD. It is from 8 o'clock to 12, that is true, but it was a most wearing experience, all present will testify.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I know they will all testify to that, the purpose being of course that nobody else could have said anything attributed to them, and for that reason this 5-hour statement.

Mr. TODD. Mr. Chairman, I do not know what is my right here, but I wish to reiterate that I have tried to tell the truth before the committee and have not tried to mislead the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman realizes that.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Of course, but the statement that Dr. Wirt indulged in a 5-hour monologue was somewhat overdrawn.

Mr. TODD. It may have been 4 hours that I heard.

Mr. LEHLBACH. You wish to correct that by saying 4 hours instead of 5 hours?

Mr. TODD. That I heard. I testified I got there somewhere around 8 o'clock, I was somewhat late to the dinner, and that I took Dr. Wirt to his hotel somewhere around 12 o'clock.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Just what was the purpose of exaggerating the time it took to tell this monologue.

Mr. TODD. I made no attempt to exaggerate the hours we suffered, Mr. Congressman. I was thinking of the continuity of this conversation and of the strange outcome of our inability to say anything that evening.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I understood you to say a moment ago, Mr. Todd, at the time you went out to the party, you were not employed by the Tass Agency.

Mr. TODD. I said I was chiefly doing work for the Federated Press Service Agency. I was doing some work for the Tass, and that 2 months after this dinner I became employed exclusively by the Tass Agency.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You have been writing for several years for the Tass Agency?

Mr. TODD. I have.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Who finances the Tass News Agency?

Mr. TODD. It is a news-gathering corporation for the collection outside of the Soviet Union of news which is published only within the Soviet Union. It is an associated press news-collecting agency for the Soviet Union. Of course it is owned by the Soviet Government. It is a corporation that is owned by the government.

Mr. MCGUGIN. But it is different from the Associated Press in this country. The Associated Press in this country is not owned by the Government, but owned by the newspapers.

Mr. TODD. Yes; and you are aware that all business of any size in the Soviet Union is owned by the Government.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I understood you had been writing for the Federated Press Agency, and for the labor papers.

Mr. TODD. Yes.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Some of the newspapers which carry the news of the Federated Press Service are claimed to be labor papers, but also are Communist papers; is that right?

Mr. TODD. The Federated Press was established to furnish news to papers of all factions in the labor field.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Some of the papers who take that service are Communist papers.

Mr. TODD. That is true.

Mr. MCGUGIN. One of the papers that takes that service is the Daily Worker, of New York.

Mr. TODD. That is true.

Mr. MCGUGIN. And as correspondent for the Federated Press you were a writer for the Daily Worker, were you not?

Mr. TODD. They received my articles, but they did not use them.

Mr. MCGUGIN. They never used any of your articles?

Mr. TODD. They have not used anything of mine for a long time, so far as I am aware. They customarily did not use my articles.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You testified before a congressional committee, before, did you not?

Mr. TODD. I think if you will read my testimony you will discover what I said at that time.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You said then they occasionally used your stuff, did you not?

Mr. TODD. It is in the record.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I ask you if this question was asked you by Mr. Bachmann: "You represent the Federated Press," and was this your answer? [Reading:]

That is my principal job.

Mr. BACHMANN. You are the western representative of the Federated Press?

Mr. TODD. That is right.

Mr. BACHMANN. And as such representative you write for the Daily Worker?

Mr. TODD. The Daily Worker takes our service, the same as any other papers and magazines.

You gave that testimony?

Mr. TODD. I did.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I hand you a copy of the Daily Worker and ask you to tell the committee what is this insignia at the top of the page?

Mr. TODD. This insignia at the top of the page represents a cycle and a hammer.

Mr. MCGUGIN. What significance has that to the Communist Government of Russia?

Mr. TODD. That is the emblem that is on their flag at the Embassy here.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I will ask you if also at the masthead of this newspaper are the words, "Central Organ Communist Party, U.S.A. Section of Communist Internationale"?

Mr. TODD. Yes; that is there.

Mr. MCGUGIN. And that is one of the papers which took your service?

Mr. TODD. That is true.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Let me ask you, did any of the Republican papers take your service?

Mr. TODD. They did.

Mr. McGUGIN. Which Republican papers took your service; will you be kind enough to designate to the committee which ones?

Mr. TODD. The Progressive at Madison took our service, and I think still takes it.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Is the Progressive in Madison, Wis., a Republican paper?

Mr. TODD. Progressives in Wisconsin are Republicans.

Mr. McGUGIN. What others?

Mr. TODD. There have been other papers in Wisconsin that took our service, but I do not recall the names. Our service is primarily labor news service. The Federated Press is modern in its viewpoint, and it naturally appeals to the newspapers which were modern in their viewpoint, and they were seeking better wages, shorter hours, and abolition of poverty, and had various ideas as to how to achieve those ends.

Mr. McGUGIN. And you personally think the way to achieve it is to turn to Communism?

Mr. TODD. I am not discussing here my personal views because I am a foreign correspondent and am writing for no publication in the United States.

Mr. McGUGIN. You write accordingly, do you not? Now, Mr. Todd, have you written for any other Communist papers?

Mr. TODD. Mr. Chairman, I would like to know whether this is relevant. If so, I will be glad to answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has the right to cross-examine you on that.

Mr. TODD. I have written for some 80 papers. Over the past 14 years I have written for papers throughout the United States, which were radical, and most of which were what you would call liberal papers. The Railroad Brotherhood magazines have most of them have taken our service.

Mr. McGUGIN. That was not my question. Have you written for other communist papers?

Mr. TODD. Yes.

Mr. McGUGIN. Name them.

Mr. TODD. There is a Finnish paper up in Superior, Wis. that took our service. I do not recall the name of them, they have come and gone.

Mr. McGUGIN. Were you ever associated with William Z. Foster in any enterprise?

Mr. TODD. I was not.

Mr. McGUGIN. Was Mr. Foster one of the board of directors of the Federated Press when you were connected with it?

Mr. TODD. He was the editor of a paper and as such he was a member of the board of directors of the Federated Press—that is right.

Mr. McGUGIN. Were you working for a paper concern on the board of directors of which Mr. Foster was a member?

Mr. TODD. That is right.

Mr. McGUGIN. You are acquainted with Frederick Howe the consumers' counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration?

Mr. TODD. Yes.

Mr. McGUGIN. Was Mr. Howe affiliated with the organizing of the Federated Press?

Mr. TODD. I do not know.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Have you ever been associated with the American Civil Liberties Union?

Mr. TODD. Yes.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You are a member of that association?

Mr. TODD. Not now.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You have been?

Mr. TODD. Yes.

Mr. MCGUGIN. How long since?

Mr. TODD. I suppose 5 or 6 years ago.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You are familiar with the findings of the congressional committee pertaining to that organization, are you not?

Mr. TODD. The Fish committee?

Mr. MCGUGIN. Yes; a congressional committee.

Mr. TODD. Oh, yes.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Signed by Representative Fish?

Mr. TODD. Yes.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Signed by Representative Bachmann, those two being Republicans; and signed by the late Representative Eslick of Tennessee, a Democrat, and the late Representative Hall of Mississippi, also a Democrat?

Mr. TODD. Yes.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You are familiar with this report from which I quote on page 57 and 56. First on page 57:

A committee of the New York State Legislature, back in 1928, reached the following conclusion in regard to the American Civil Liberties Union:

The American Civil Liberties Union, in the last analysis, is a supporter of all subversive movements; its propaganda is detrimental to the interests of the State. It attempts not only to protect crime but to encourage attacks upon our institutions in every form.

Your committee concurs with the above findings.

And further on page 56:

The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 percent of its efforts are on behalf of communists who have come into conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press, and free assembly; but it is quite apparent that the main function of the American Civil Liberties Union is to attempt to protect the communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthrow the Government, replacing the American flag by a red flag and erecting a Soviet Government in place of the republican form of government guaranteed to each State by the Federal Constitution.

Mr. TODD. I have read that report.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Have you been a member of that organization since reading that report?

Mr. TODD. No; not since the report was made. I was a member of the American Civil Liberties Union during the period which I assume they were referring to. I have not been a member for 4 or 5 years, and I think the report was made 3 or 4 years ago.

Mr. MCGUGIN. After that report came out and you learned what kind of an organization it was, you quit?

Mr. TODD. Not at all. I had great admiration of the work it did.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You still have admiration for it?

Mr. TODD. I am not discussing my personal views.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You said you had great admiration for it.

Mr. TODD. I still have admiration for the work it did.

Mr. McGUGIN. Did you have that admiration since the report of the legislature of the State of New York?

Mr. TODD. I disagreed at that time with the opinion of the gentlemen who signed that report you have there, and the report from the State of New York.

Mr. McGUGIN. You still disagree with it?

Mr. TODD. I am not discussing my opinions at the present time, I am a foreign correspondent.

Mr. McGUGIN. In the light of those views, if you had said anything at this party you would naturally have given expressions which were favorable to the communist form of government, and hostile to our form of government. Is that right?

Mr. TODD. I have always been counseled by editors not to answer hypothetical questions, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. McGUGIN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness will come down.

Come forward, Mr. Bruere and be sworn.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT W. BRUERE

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Connor.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Where do you live Mr. Bruere?

Mr. BRUERE. Palisades, Rockland County, N.Y.

Mr. O'CONNOR. What is your business?

Mr. BRUERE. I am an industrial relations counselor. I am at this moment chairman of the Cotton Textile National Industrial Relations Board, and proud of it.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Have you been connected with education?

Mr. BRUERE. I began my career as a teacher and for many years the greatest source of my happiness has been the association with my friends and neighbors in Rockland County as a trustee of my local school and as a member of the Vocational Education and Extension Board of Rockland County.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Have you read the testimony given by Dr. Wirt before this committee on April 10?

Mr. BRUERE. I have, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Were you present at this dinner at Miss Barrows' on September 1, 1933?

Mr. BRUERE. If that date is the correct date, I was present at that dinner.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you know all of the people there?

Mr. BRUERE. I think that was the first time I had had the privilege of meeting Miss Kneeland.

Mr. O'CONNOR. How long had you known Dr. Wirt?

Mr. BRUERE. I think I had met Dr. Wirt once or twice before, but I had known him by reputation for a number of years.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Had you on any previous occasion been in any gathering where the other people were there?

Mr. BRUERE. I had never been in a gathering where all of those people were there. I had met, as I stated, some members of the party before.

Mr. O'CONNOR. In Dr. Wirt's testimony the only reference he made to you is on page 19, where the chairman asked him this: "Now then what did Mr. Bruere have to say," Dr. Wirt replied: "Practically nothing except that he protested the discussion along

other lines and thought we ought to talk about schools. Bruere was a member of a board of education of New York which included Nyack and he takes that job very seriously, and he wanted to talk schools."

Is that correct that you did protest?

Mr. BRUERE. It is correct, sir, except in one respect. The implication of Dr. Wirt's statement where he says I protested against these lines is that I protested against something that somebody other than Dr. Wirt said. I had sought Dr. Wirt's counsel as an educator. I was exclusively interested in Dr. Wirt as an educator. I had listened to Dr. Wirt for several hours discoursing on money, and I was impatient at his insistence in monopolizing the evening by discussion on money, and the only objection was to Dr. Wirt's monopolizing the discussion all evening for the purpose of imposing upon us his views of gold and money.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you get any results from your "protest" or objection?

Mr. BRUERE. I regret, sir, that I did not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Dr. Wirt testified that Miss Kneeland whom you have heard testify here, did a great deal of talking. Is that correct?

Mr. BRUERE. Miss Kneeland has stated to the best of my belief here, under oath, the facts, and has given an absolutely true statement of what she said on that occasion.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Is it a fact that no one there "could get a word in edgewise"?

Mr. BRUERE. I tried that several times that evening. I think it was I who started Dr. Wirt talking education at the dinner table, and on several occasions from 8 o'clock to 11 o'clock I did endeavor to request that we return to the subject of education. It was for that reason I had wanted to meet Dr. Wirt. My attempts were unsuccessful, and I think the attempts of others were equally unsuccessful.

Mr. O'CONNOR. You have read Dr. Wirt's testimony where he said there was a discussion of "planned economy", "thwarting recovery", "Kerensky", and "the President in the middle of a stream".

Mr. BRUERE. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Were any of those matters discussed at that meeting?

Mr. BRUERE. I heard no such discussion, and I wish to say that Dr. Wirt's statement that any of us were attempting to thwart the recovery of this country or the President's recovery program, was slander, and that in making it he violated the Ninth Commandment in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, which commands us not to bear false witness against our neighbors.

Mr. O'CONNOR. At that meeting did you consider you belonged to any group of serious thinkers who had some plan with reference to the Government?

Mr. BRUERE. I did not, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you hear the gathering referred to as a group?

Mr. BRUERE. I did not, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you hear the name of Dr. Tugwell or Secretary Wallace mentioned?

Mr. BRUERE. I did not, sir.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did you hear the name of the President mentioned?

Mr. BRUERE. I did not, sir; unless Mr. Wirt may have referred to it. I do not recall any reference to the President.

Mr. O'CONNOR. As I understand it at the dinner table the sole discussion was in reference to education.

Mr. BRUERE. There was a general discussion, but my question to Dr. Wirt elicited from him some statement with respect to the Gary Schools in which I have been greatly interested, and in which, I will say publicly, I feel he has made a great contribution.

Mr. O'CONNOR. After the dinner, I understand, the entire conversation was Dr. Wirt's theories as to devaluating of the dollar.

Mr. BRUERE. There was no conversation. As has been stated there was a monologue unsuccessfully interrupted.

Mr. O'CONNOR. But the monologue pertained solely to the deflation of the dollar.

Mr. BRUERE. Dr. Wirt's theories of gold and monetary policy; yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did Dr. Wirt or anybody else hold in their hand any writing of Dr. Tugwell or Mr. Wallace?

Mr. BRUERE. I saw no such document.

Mr. O'CONNOR. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Arnold.

Mr. ARNOLD. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey?

Mr. LEHLBACH. Mr. Bruere, since this investigation started you have met with the other guests of Miss Barrows' and with Miss Barrows?

Mr. BRUERE. I have met with Miss Barrows. Miss Barrows with the permission of the Commissioner of Education, and at the request of our county board—

Mr. LEHLBACH. I mean since the dinner.

Mr. BRUERE. Yes; I say since then, she has undertaken a study of our schools.

Mr. LEHLBACH. You were present in the office of Mr. Bulwinkle?

Mr. BRUERE. I went to the office of Mr. Bulwinkle to request that I might appear as a voluntary witness to make the statement that I am now making.

Mr. LEHLBACH. That was on Wednesday?

Mr. BRUERE. I think so; it was on Wednesday, and I appeared again this morning to come with him here.

Mr. LEHLBACH. It was understood by every one of you that all of you would agree that what occurred from 8 until 11 was a monologue by Dr. Wirt?

Mr. BRUERE. There was no such agreement, sir.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Was there any statement?

Mr. BRUERE. There was no such agreement, sir. I had no idea what questions would be asked me here and I am making my answers here without any previous commitment or without knowledge of the questions which you or the other members of this honorable committee would ask.

Mr. LEHLBACH. There was a discussion as to what the testimony would be before 10 o'clock this morning?

Mr. BRUERE. There was not.

Mr. LEHLBACH. You were all together in Mr. Bulwinkle's office?

Mr. BRUERE. I arrived at Mr. Bulwinkle's office late and certain questions were being asked, but there was no agreement.

Mr. LEHLBACH. By whom?

Mr. BRUERE. I think the chairman asked certain questions.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Concerning what occurred at this dinner?

Mr. BRUERE. I should prefer to have him state what it was.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I am not asking him. I am asking you.

Mr. BRUERE. He asked certain questions of fact of Miss Kneeland and several of the others, and asked me if I had anything to say.

Mr. LEHLBACH. And with the exception of Mr. Todd, you were all present together at that time?

Mr. BRUERE. Before we came to this meeting, sir; yes, sir.

Mr. LEHLBACH. And at that time all of you agreed that this was a monologue?

Mr. BRUERE. We did not, sir. There was no agreement.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I do not mean that you signed a paper or that you entered into a formal agreement, but I mean each one knew about it.

Mr. BRUERE. Insofar as that was a matter of fact, everyone said it was true, and it was true as a matter of fact.

Mr. LEHLBACH. And each one said that in the presence of the others?

Mr. BRUERE. I do not think everyone spoke there this morning. I think there were just several. I only recall two or three who spoke. Mr. Coyle spoke, and Miss Kneeland spoke, and I spoke, and maybe one or two others.

Mr. LEHLBACH. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Mr. Bruere, I take it that this was your first experience where you were ever at a party and somebody else monopolized a conversation. Is that right?

Mr. BRUERE. I do not understand your question, sir.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Were you ever at a party before in which somebody else monopolized all the conversation?

Mr. BRUERE. Yes, sir; I have been at such parties. I have done it myself on occasion.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I mean where anybody else monopolized the conversation and kept you from saying anything?

Mr. BRUERE. Oh, yes; frequently. There are bores.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Now, Mr. Bruere, was there anything said at that party or on the way home about Mr. Roosevelt being a Kerensky of the revolution?

Mr. BRUERE. You say on the way home?

Mr. MCGUGIN. At the party or on the way home.

Mr. BRUERE. I did not go home with Mr. Wirt or anybody else, but I went home by myself and I heard no such statement. The first time that statement ever came to my attention was when it was read into the record by Mr. Rand, as having emanated from Dr. Wirt.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Now, to refresh your recollection I will ask you if any reference was made to the book written by Ernest K. Lindley, who stated:

As the Roosevelt revolution reached the end of its first phase, the choices remained unaltered. Orderly readjustment by Democratic methods may turn out to be impossible of achievement; Mr. Roosevelt may turn out to be the Kerensky of the revolution. However, Mr. Roosevelt is a far abler man than most of the figures who have been thrown up in the transitional periods of history.

Does that refresh your memory, by reading the view of Ernest K. Lindley, written at that time?

The CHAIRMAN. Was the book written at that time?

Mr. BRUERE. I know nothing about that date or that book.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I ask if there was not discussion of Ernest K. Lindley's views expressed in that book at that time?

Mr. BRUERE. There was not.

Mr. MCGUGIN. What position do you hold?

Mr. BRUERE. I am the Chairman of the Cotton Textile National Industrial Relations Board.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Is that a Government position?

Mr. BRUERE. That is a position created under section 17 of the cotton textile code, designed to create united and harmonious relationships between employers and workers in the great cotton textile industry.

Mr. MCGUGIN. That is a Government appointment?

Mr. BRUERE. I am chairman of that board by appointment of the Administrator, General Johnson.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Are you the same Robert Bruere who wrote articles in defense of the I.W.W. for the National Civil Liberties Union in 1918?

Mr. BRUERE. I never wrote any articles in defense of the I.W.W. for the National Civil Liberties Union. The articles to which the gentleman from Kansas refers are articles which I wrote as a special correspondent for the New York Evening Post in the autumn and winter of 1917 and 1918. I made a study of the I.W.W. at that time. The gentleman from Kansas will remember that in that year President Wilson appointed what was called the "President's mediation commission," of which Secretary William Beecham Wilson was chairman. I enjoyed the hospitality of Secretary William Beecham Wilson while I was making that study, traveled on his special train with him, and derived most of my information from the testimony presented to the committee of which he was chairman.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You were very hostile at that time to the conduct of the Department of Justice under the Wilson administration toward the I.W.W., were you not?

Mr. BRUERE. Quite to the contrary, sir. I was a devoted follower of the Wilson administration, as I am now a devoted follower of the Roosevelt administration.

Mr. MCGUGIN. I will ask you this question: In any of the articles which you wrote did you have this paragraph:

I feel very strongly about this matter, because I believe that the policy of uncompromising hostility toward the I.W.W. workmen which is being pushed by the United States Department of Justice is jeopardizing the success of our airplane program whose immediate execution is absolutely essential for the successful performance of our war on the French front?

Mr. BRUERE. I think I wrote that because I was devoting all of my energies at that time to the successful prosecution of our airplane program.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Then it is true that you felt very strongly about the matter because you believed that the policy of uncompromising hostility toward the I.W.W. workmen which was being pushed by the United States Department of Justice was wrong?

Mr. BRUERE. If you will look at another passage in that, you will find that at Missoula, the United States Forestry Service was using the headquarters of the I.W.W. to recruit workmen, that there was great peace there, that that particular group was proud of the national forests, and it was in that section that the airplane program

that is the securing of proper materials for our airplane program was most successful.

You have taken a passage out of its context; if you will read the whole thing, you will see how I felt about the success of the airplane program, and that is precisely what I meant.

Mr. McGUGIN. If you like, I will read this whole thing as reported in this I.W.W. pamphlet.

Mr. BRUERE. I will leave that to the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think it is necessary to read it into the record at this time. You may put it in the record, if you wish.

Mr. McGUGIN. If the American Civil Liberties Union published a pamphlet quoting you as in defense of the I.W.W., it did so without your approval?

Mr. BRUERE. I heard about that, I think, for the first time today.

Mr. McGUGIN. Well, I will hand you this pamphlet, and I will ask you if you are the party referred to in it [handing pamphlet to the witness].

Mr. BRUERE. What do you refer to, sir? Robert Bruere is my name. My name appears on that page. I assume I am the person referred to.

Mr. McGUGIN. And in this pamphlet, on the foreword page, it states:

The truth about the I.W.W. forces in relation to the trial at Chicago by competent industrial investigators and noted economists,

published by the National Civil Liberties Bureau, Fifth Avenue, New York City, April 11, 1918. Is that right?

Mr. BRUERE. All that I wrote, sir, was public property and appeared in the New York Evening Post.

Mr. McGUGIN. If the Civil Liberties Bureau used that stuff, it did so without your permission?

Mr. BRUERE. I know nothing about that. They would have been perfectly free to do it if they had the permission of the editor of the New York Evening Post.

Mr. McGUGIN. I will ask you whether at that time you wrote an article for the New York Evening Post which was reprinted in a pamphlet put out by the American Civil Liberties Union, the title page of which says, "The truth about the I.W.W. prisoners", and if in that article you said this:

To bring the charge of violence against the I.W.W. as an organization is not only wrong on the face of the facts but is unsound and a short-sighted policy.

Mr. BRUERE. I think I wrote that, and that was based upon evidence before the commission of which the chairman was William Beecham Wilson. The article upon which, to the best of my recollection, that statement was principally based, was submitted to the responsible executives of the United States Forestry Service before publication. I know nothing of the facts beyond that.

Mr. McGUGIN. The facts are that you were critical of the conduct of the Department of Justice toward the I.W.W. in 1918; is not that right?

Mr. BRUERE. I have said that I wrote those pages, to the best of my knowledge and belief, to which you refer. To say that I was critical of the Department is doubtfully true, because I used to visit

the Department and have friends in the Department. I may have been critical of the particular acts to which I referred.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Are you a member of the American Civil Liberties Union?

Mr. BRUERE. I am not.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Have you been a lecturer in the Rand School, in New York?

Mr. BRUERE. In 1908 I lectured on American literature, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Mark Twain, in the Rand School, of New York City. I was a neighbor of Mark Twain, and I always liked to lecture about Mark Twain, sir.

Mr. MCGUGIN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bruere, I will ask you if you do not know that this book of Ernest K. Lindley did not come out for publication until sometime in November 1933?

Mr. BRUERE. Mr. Chairman, I regret to say that this is the first time I have been consciously aware of the title of that book, so that I can not answer your question.

Mr. O'CONNOR. This is the book written by Mr. Ernest K. Lindley entitled, "The Roosevelt Revolution", and so forth, about which you have been questioned.

Mr. BRUERE. I see.

Mr. O'CONNOR. I show you a page of that book and I ask you what it states as to the date of publication.

Mr. BRUERE (examining book). "Copyright 1933, by Ernest K. Lindley, published November 1933, second printing November 1933, third printing December 1933."

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. BRUERE. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MCGUGIN. At this time I would like the record to show that the question that I asked of the witness was if anyone there discussed the theory of Ernest K. Lindley, as published in his book referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. We will call Mr. Coyle.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID CUSHMAN COYLE

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Arnold.

Mr. ARNOLD. Will you give your name to the reporter?

Mr. COYLE. David Cushman Coyle.

Mr. ARNOLD. Where do you reside?

Mr. COYLE. I live in Bronxville, N.Y.

Mr. ARNOLD. Are you an employee of the Federal Government?

Mr. COYLE. I am not sure what the legal status is. I am a consulting engineer in New York City in private practice, and I act as a consultant to various organizations of this Government.

Mr. ARNOLD. How long have you been acting in that capacity?

Mr. COYLE. Since about the 27th of August.

Mr. ARNOLD. What business were you engaged in prior to that time?

Mr. COYLE. I am a consulting engineer in structural engineering.

Mr. ARNOLD. You are not, then, a regular employee of the Federal Government?

Mr. COYLE. The members of the board of review are called here periodically to sit on a board which deals with Public Works projects which are disputed.

Mr. ARNOLD. Were you present at this dinner party in Virginia on the night of September 1, 1933?

Mr. COYLE. I am not certain about the date, but I was present at the dinner party which has been discussed here.

Mr. ARNOLD. Who was present at that dinner party?

Mr. COYLE. Miss Barrows, the hostess; Mr. Todd; Miss Taylor; Miss Kneeland; Mr. Bruere; Dr. Wirt; and myself.

Mr. ARNOLD. Were you acquainted with those people prior to that evening?

Mr. COYLE. I was acquainted with Miss Barrows and Mr. Bruere. I had met Miss Taylor once.

Mr. ARNOLD. Had you ever met with them in groups before?

Mr. COYLE. No.

Mr. ARNOLD. What time did you get to the dinner party?

Mr. COYLE. I think it was around 7 o'clock.

Mr. ARNOLD. Have you read the testimony taken on the former hearing in this matter?

Mr. COYLE. I have, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. You are familiar, then, with the evidence submitted at that time?

Mr. COYLE. I am, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. Will you give us in a general way the subject or the trend of the conversation at the dinner table that night?

Mr. COYLE. At the dinner table the conversation was about the Gary schools, between Mr. Bruere and Dr. Wirt. Dr. Wirt explained about the Gary schools and Mr. Bruere asked him a few questions.

Mr. ARNOLD. Let me ask you how you happened to attend that dinner.

Mr. COYLE. I was informed that Dr. Wirt had read something I had published and disagreed with it and wanted to discuss it with me, and that he had suggested that I be asked to this dinner, so that we could have a discussion.

Mr. ARNOLD. After the dinner party was over, you repaired to the living room or sitting room?

Mr. COYLE. Yes.

Mr. ARNOLD. And were all of the six people who were at that dinner in that living room?

Mr. COYLE. Yes.

Mr. ARNOLD. You have heard the testimony of the witnesses here today and you have heard the testimony of Dr. Wirt as given in the former hearing. What have you to say as to the general trend of that conversation that night?

Mr. Coyle. Dr. Wirt, after we went into the living room, started on the gold devaluation of the dollar, and explained that to us at great length. I gathered the impression that he was familiar with the Warren group and its theories. My impression was that he was one of their group. He explained to us what was going to occur in the change in the value of the dollar and what effect it would produce, and, as I remember what he said to us, those were the events which afterwards did occur. That lasted from 8 o'clock until about 11.

Mr. ARNOLD. Who did the talking that evening?

Mr. COYLE. Dr. Wirt did the talking.

Mr. ARNOLD. And his talk was on the subject of money?

Mr. COYLE. Yes.

Mr. ARNOLD. Did you hear all that conversation that night?

Mr. COYLE. Yes. I was awake throughout the whole evening.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Are you sure of that?

Mr. COYLE. Yes; I am sure of that.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Was it difficult?

Mr. COYLE. It was perhaps not as difficult for me as it was for some of the others, because I knew nothing about gold devaluation and I was interested in finding out what the theory of the Warren group was.

Mr. ARNOLD. Was there anything said there that night with reference to the matters that Dr. Wirt testified about on last Tuesday?

Mr. COYLE. No; there was not. Pardon me. I would like to state that while at the time I read Dr. Wirt's testimony, the day following, I did not remember this remark of Miss Kneeland's, it has been so much discussed today that I feel that I recall that it occurred, although I am not definite about it.

Mr. ARNOLD. Did Miss Kneeland make the remarks attributed to her by Dr. Wirt in that conversation?

Mr. COYLE. I feel now that I recall her remark about returning to the conditions of 1926. The other remarks were not made by Miss Kneeland nor by anybody else.

Mr. ARNOLD. Was there anything said there that evening about Kerensky?

Mr. COYLE. The name Kerensky, the name Stalin or Lenin—I have forgotten which it is he said it was—the name of Mr. Wallace or Dr. Tugwell; those names were not mentioned.

Mr. ARNOLD. None of those people was mentioned there that evening?

Mr. COYLE. That was not the subject of the conversation and they were not mentioned.

Mr. ARNOLD. There was nothing said that night about the overthrow of the Government or the social order of the country, was there?

Mr. COYLE. There was nothing said there that night about the overthrow of the social order or of the Government. I may say the reason I hesitate is I do not consider that the change in the gold value of the dollar is the overthrow of the social order.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did Dr. Wirt consider that was the overthrow of the social order?

Mr. COYLE. No; I do not think he did.

Mr. O'CONNOR. He advocated the devaluation of the dollar, did he not?

Mr. COYLE. Yes.

Mr. O'CONNOR. As far as you understand, what has happened since is what he was advocating that night, is that correct?

Mr. COYLE. As I remember, what he explained to us was the series of events which afterward did occur.

Mr. ARNOLD. Did you participate in that conversation that night?

Mr. COYLE. No; I did not.

Mr. ARNOLD. You remember the entire conversation?

Mr. COYLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARNOLD. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Coyle, you know Ernest K. Lindley?

Mr. COYLE. I do not.

Mr. BULWINKLE. Do you know his father, who was chancellor of the University of Kansas?

Mr. COYLE. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. LEHLBACH. At the time you were invited, you were informed that Dr. Wirt had disagreed with something that you had written and desired to discuss it with you?

Mr. COYLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEHLBACH. What was it you had written that he disagreed with?

Mr. COYLE. It was a book which I wrote called *The Irrepressible Conflict, Business Versus Finance*, which was then in its third edition and which had been given to him, I understood.

Mr. LEHLBACH. You were present at Mr. Bulwinkle's office on two occasions?

Mr. COYLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BULWINKLE. And the testimony to be given here was discussed on those occasions?

Mr. COYLE. Mr. Bulwinkle asked us what the truth was.

Mr. LEHLBACH. As to whether the time was occupied exclusively by a monologue by Dr. Wirt?

Mr. COYLE. I do not remember his asking that question.

Mr. LEHLBACH. I do not mean in those precise words, but that no one else talked from 8 until 11, excepting, possibly, yourself?

Mr. COYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I make an explanation of fact? I am not familiar with the procedure of congressional investigations. I think within 15 minutes after Dr. Wirt testified I was approached by half a dozen reporters, and I made a statement to them—perhaps that was improper, I do not know—but I said at that time that Dr. Wirt talked for 4 hours and nobody else said very much. Something of that kind was published in the papers. I had at that time seen no one else. I had not seen the chairman of this committee, I had not seen any of the other people who were present at that time.

Mr. LEHLBACH. No further questions.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Mr. Coyle, I understood you to say that at that party the name Tugwell was not mentioned.

Mr. COYLE. To the best of my knowledge, it was not mentioned unless Dr. Wirt may have mentioned it casually.

Mr. MCGUGIN. To refresh your memory, was not the name of Professor Tugwell mentioned and was he not quoted as having said this—

Mr. BULWINKLE. Just a moment. May I ask the gentleman if he is reading from that speech that Professor Tugwell made?

Mr. MCGUGIN. Yes. I want to refresh his memory.

The CHAIRMAN. Before the American Economic Society?

Mr. MCGUGIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BULWINKLE. First, I want to ask the witness if he does not know that the speech made to that American Economic Society by Dr. Tugwell was made several months after this dinner?

Mr. COYLE. I am also embarrassed to say that I have not read that speech, I do not know when it was made.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Let the record show at this time that that speech was in 1931.

The CHAIRMAN. Which speech are you talking about?

Mr. MCGUGIN. Before the American Economic Association, which will be borne out by the minutes of the Forty-fourth Session of the American Economic Association, as they are on file in the Congressional Library.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness states he has not read it.

Mr. MCGUGIN. That is neither here nor there. I am trying to refresh his memory. Now, to refresh your memory, I ask you if at that meeting someone did not quote Dr. Tugwell by saying this, in substance: "The essence of business is its free venture for profit in an unregulated economy. Planning implies guidance of capital uses that would limit entrance into or expansion of operations. Planning also implies adjustment of production to consumption and there is no way of accomplishing this except through control of prices and profit-making"?

Mr. COYLE. I never have heard that statement from anybody at any time.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You did not hear it made that night?

Mr. COYLE. I did not.

Mr. MCGUGIN. To further refresh your memory, let me ask you if Dr. Tugwell was mentioned at that party and was quoted as having said this:

The necessary conditions of planning are not established by any purely advisory economic council. An advisory council might guess, but it could not plan, and the difference between guessing and planning is the difference between *laissez faire* and social control. Under the institutions of *laissez faire* the sole use of such a body will be to lead us slowly by precept and demonstration toward a less uncertain future. It seems improbable that this will be other than a very reluctant and grudging change.

Now, to refresh your memory, was not Dr. Tugwell at that meeting quoted as having said that?

Mr. COYLE. He was not.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Coyle, I understand you to say that at that meeting Dr. Tugwell was not mentioned. Is that correct?

Mr. COYLE. Unless Dr. Wirt may have mentioned his name so casually that it would not stick in my memory.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Did Dr. Wirt, or anybody else, quote from Dr. Tugwell?

Mr. COYLE. No, sir; not to my best recollection.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Now, Mr. Chairman, in view of that testimony, I object to any further reading of an alleged speech by Dr. Tugwell, made in Philadelphia, of all places, and in the year 1931, long before Dr. Tugwell held any Government office, let alone any office under the present administration.

Mr. MCGUGIN. As night follows day, though, whatever his philosophy was then, is his philosophy yet.

Mr. O'CONNOR. No. You for instance have changed in the last couple of years. You used to be a conservative Republican. Now you are approaching the radical.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Nevertheless, it is proper cross-examination.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair rules that it is not proper cross-examination. We must hold this down to the Rand statement, and, as the witness has stated, Dr. Tugwell's name was not mentioned. If it was, it was only incidentally, and then by Dr. Wirt. The question is, what happened at that meeting.

Mr. MCGUGIN. That is why, under the ordinary rules of evidence I have the right to refresh his memory.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the ordinary rules of evidence, the gentleman knows full well that he could not open up all fields like that.

Mr. MCGUGIN. The gentleman is lawyer enough to know that a witness' memory may be refreshed by quoting certain statements.

The CHAIRMAN. This is not an investigation of Dr. Tugwell.

Mr. O'CONNOR. When you get through, Mr. McGugin, I suggest that you put in the Bible or the platform of the Republican party in 1932.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Very well, let it go, if you do not want it in.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. COYLE. May I make a further statement?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. COYLE. I would like to state that it is well known to many of my friends that prior to April 10 for a while I believed it most probable that Dr. Wirt had been hoaxed by someone who was playing a joke on him. I met Miss Barrows prior to that date and we were both uncertain as to what could have been the reason for Dr. Wirt's statement, as brought out by Mr. Rand. I want to state for the record that neither of us had any idea that the place where these things were supposed to have happened had been in our presence. I was surprised when I discovered that I was supposed to have been present when these things occurred. That fact I state here under oath, and if anybody disbelieves it, I can call plenty of my friends to come, to whom I stated I thought probably he had been hoaxed.

Mr. MCGUGIN. When you were laboring under that belief, did you convey your views to Adolph Berle?

Mr. COYLE. I have never met Adolph Berle. I do not know him personally; I have never had any communication with him.

Mr. O'CONNOR. You know he holds a very responsible position in the Republican administration of the city of New York, do you not?

Mr. COYLE. Yes.

Mr. LEHLBACH. There is no Republican administration in New York; it is a Fusion administration. The gentleman knows that thoroughly.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. LaGuardia was nominated on the Republican ticket.

Mr. MCGUGIN. You had occasion to deliver an address in Hartford, Conn., on January 23, 1934, did you not?

Mr. COYLE. I am not sure about the date.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Approximately that time. I will ask you, while you were there, if you engaged in private conversation with any person in which that person asked you in substance the following: "Do you not think that the administration has been rather hard on the Connecticut men, Atchison and Hughes, who, according to newspaper accounts, seem to be ousted in spite of the fact that they had sacrificed their business?"

Mr. COYLE. Atchison and Hughes?

Mr. MCGUGIN. Yes. I ask you if someone did not ask you that, in substance, and that if you did not answer in substance as follows:

We try to be courteous, but if we meet opposition we must get rid of the opponent, that is, if he has any real strength, for you know this is revolution. The fight is ruthless and no quarter is given. It is either necessary to destroy or be destroyed, and in times of crisis the American people will submit and must be subjected to regimentation and the only type of official kept in office will be the yes-man type.

Did anyone ask you such a question in substance and did you in substance give such an answer?

Mr. COYLE. I will reply that no one asked me that question in substance; that I never head the names of those two men that you mentioned; that I did not make any such reply to any other question similar to that in substance; that I am on record in many magazines and in print as to my opinions in regard to regimentation; and that I will put them in the record if you wish.

Mr. O'CONNOR. The answer to it is that the gentleman from Kansas knows that you did not make any such answer.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Oh, no.

Mr. O'CONNOR. And he knows who, if anybody, had that discussion, and he is only using you as the witness, knowing that you will say "no", but solely to inject this immaterial matter into the record.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Oh, no.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Which has no bearing on the resolution and has nothing to do with Dr. Wirt's statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you attend a luncheon in Hartford on January 23, 1934?

Mr. COYLE. I am not sure of the date, but I did attend a luncheon about that date.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you the speaker?

Mr. COYLE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you stated that you did not say what the gentleman has referred to in substance, or anything else like it?

Mr. COYLE. Not only that, Mr. Chairman, but if anybody wants me to, I will put in the record a list of at least a dozen magazine articles, and if you wish I will put this book in the record, which will prove what my attitude is toward centralization of power and toward regimentation.

Mr. LEHLBACH. Tell us now, why don't you?

Mr. COYLE. I do not think this is a suitable place to make an extended speech on political and economic matters.


Mr. LEHLBACH. I did not ask you to make an extended speech, I asked you what were your views, which you say are well known. They might be summarized.

Mr. COYLE. I might say this about it, that I have written at great length and to the best of my ability to try to show how this country can be readjusted without the necessity of regimentation.

Mr. MCGUGIN. Now, I will ask you, Mr. Coyle, if in your Hartford speech you said in substance that there are bound to be some intellectual casualties incurred, citing such casualties as Al Smith, Bernard Baruch, and the English economist Keynes?

Mr. COYLE. I will reply to that that I said—I am not sure I said it at that speech, but I have said that there are bound to be some

intellectual casualties in this depression. I have cited Al Smith as one of those intellectual casualties. I do not know enough about Bernard Baruch to know whether he is one or not. I did not cite him. I do not consider Mr. Keynes as being an intellectual casualty.

Mr. McGUGIN. So, if you made such a statement in your Hartford speech, you did not mention the names of Baruch and Keynes? 

Mr. COYLE. I may have mentioned the name of Al Smith, because I know I have mentioned it in some speech.

Mr. McGUGIN. I believe that is all.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman, I move we do now adjourn.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the motion of the gentleman from New York?

(There was no objection.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon the committee adjourned.)

House Calendar No. 244

73^d CONGRESS
2^d Session

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REPORT
No. 1439

INVESTIGATION OF CERTAIN STATEMENTS MADE BY ONE DR. WILLIAM A. WIRT

MAY 2, 1934.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. BULWINKLE, from the Select Committee to Investigate Certain Statements Made by One Dr. William A. Wirt, submitted the following

REPORT

The select Committee of the House of Representatives created under House Resolution 317 to investigate certain statements made by one Dr. William A. Wirt respectfully files this report to the House of Representatives of its investigation, together with the findings of the committee upon the subject matter committed to it.

Under section 2 of the resolution the committee was "authorized and directed to summon Dr. William A. Wirt, of Gary, Ind., before it and to require him to reveal the source of statements he has made to the effect that the United States is in the process 'of a deliberately planned revolution', and to the effect that certain officials or employees of the Government are attempting to thwart the program of national recovery in the United States; and the committee is authorized and directed to bring before it all officials or other persons alleged by Dr. Wirt to have given him said information, or to be connected in any way with said activities, and to examine them as to the truth or falsity of the statements made by Dr. Wirt; and to summon and examine such other witnesses and make such further investigation in connection with such statements and the reasons and persons actuating the same as the committee in its discretion may deem advisable."

The committee, comprising the five members, met in the Ways and Means Committee room of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, April 10, 1934, at 10 a.m., and proceeded to examine under oath Dr. William A. Wirt, of Gary, Ind., who had accepted service of summons, and who was served with the subpoena after his arrival in Washington, as to the truth or falsity of the statements made by Dr. William A. Wirt, in a written manuscript, a portion of which was read by James Rand, Jr., in giving testimony before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House of Representa-

tives on the 23d day of March 1934, which statement is in words and effect as follows:

PLAN OF REVOLUTIONISTS

The fundamental trouble with the "brain trusters" is that they start with a false assumption. They insist that the America of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln must first be destroyed and then on the ruins they will reconstruct an America after their own pattern. They do not know that the America of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln has been the "new deal" and that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we have been making great social progress. The common man is getting his place in the sun. Why try to put him back into the Dark Ages?

Last summer I asked some of the individuals in this group what their concrete plan was for bringing on the proposed overthrow of the established American social order.

I was told that they believed that by thwarting our then-evident recovery they would be able to prolong the country's destitution until they had demonstrated to the American people that the Government must operate industry and commerce. I was told that, of course, commercial banks could not make long-time capital loans and that they would be able to destroy, by propaganda, the other institutions that had been making our capital loans. Then we can push Uncle Sam into the position where he must make these capital loans. And, of course, when Uncle Sam becomes our financier he must also follow his money with control and management.

ROOSEVELT ONLY THE KERENSKY

The most surprising statement made to me was the following: "We believe that we have Mr. Roosevelt in the middle of a swift stream and that the current is so strong that he cannot turn back or escape from it. We believe that we can keep Mr. Roosevelt there until we are ready to supplant him with a Stalin. We all think that Mr. Roosevelt is only the Kerensky of this revolution."

When I asked why the President would not see through this scheme, they replied: "We are on the inside. We can control the avenues of influence. We can make the President believe that he is making decisions for himself." They said: "A leader must appear to be a strong man of action. He must make decisions and many times make them quickly, whether good or bad. Soon he will feel a superhuman flow of power from the flow of the decisions themselves—good or bad. Eventually he can easily be displaced because of his bad decisions. With Mr. Roosevelt's background we do not expect him to see this revolution through." They said that [portion of ms. deleted]. Such individuals can be induced to kindle the fires of revolution. But strong men must take their place when the country is once engulfed in flames.

I asked how they would explain to the American people why their plans for retarding the recovery were not restoring recovery. "Oh!" they said, "That would be easy." All that they would need to do would be to point the finger of scorn at the traitorous opposition. These traitors in the imaginary war against the depression would be made the goats. And the American people would agree that they, the "brain trusters", had been too lenient and in the future they, the "brain trusters", should be more firm in dealing with the opposition.

Thus they, the "brain trusters", would soon be able to use the police power of the Government and "crack down" on the opposition with a "big stick." In the meantime they would extend the gloved hand and keep the "big stick" in the background.

POWER OF PROPAGANDA

I was frankly told that I underestimated the power of propaganda. That since the World War propaganda had been developed into a science. That they could make the newspapers and magazines beg for mercy by threatening to take away much of their advertising by a measure to compel only the unvarnished truth in advertising. That they could make the financiers be good by showing up at public investigations the crooks in the game. And that the power of public investigation in their own hands alone would make the cold chills run up and down the spines of the other business leaders and politicians—honest men as well as crooks.

They were sure that they could depend upon the psychology of empty stomachs, and they would keep them empty. The masses would soon agree that anything

should be done rather than nothing. Any escape from present miseries would be welcomed even though it should turn out to be another misery.

They were sure that the leaders of industry and labor could be kept quiet by the hope of getting their own share of the Government doles in the form of loans and contracts for material and labor, provided they were subservient.

They were sure that the colleges and schools could be kept in line by the hope of Federal aid until the many "new dealers" in the schools and colleges had control of them.

They were sure that their propaganda could inflame the masses against the old social order and the honest men as well as the crooks that represent that order—communism.

I asked what they would do when the Government could no longer dole out relief in the grand manner. By that time, it was answered, the oft-repeated exhortation to industry and commerce to make jobs out of confidence and to produce goods and pay wages out of psychology, together with their other propaganda, would have won the people to the idea that the only way out was for Government itself to operate industry and commerce.

They were certain that they did not want to operate agriculture for a long time. But the farmers could be won by doles to support Government operation of industry and commerce. Farmers would be delighted to get their hands in the public trough for once in the history of the country. The farmers would be one with the masses—united for a redistribution of the wealth of the other fellow. All that they would need to do with the opposition would be to ask, "Well, what is your plan?"

Under the said examination, Dr. William A. Wirt, of Gary, Ind., who admitted that he was the author of the manuscript, and that he had mailed a copy to Mr. James Rand, Jr., and that he had communicated with Mr. Rand by telephone, giving him permission to use that part of the statement, named Robert Bruere, chairman of the Textile Code Advisory Board; David Cushman Coyle, member of the Technical Review Board of the Public Works Administration; Miss Alice Barrows, of the Department of Education; Miss Hildegard Kneeland, of the Home Economics Department of the Department of Agriculture; Miss Mary Taylor, an economist in the A.A.A. Division of the Department of Agriculture, all of the five being employees of the United States Government, and Lawrence Todd, a correspondent for the Tase Agency in Washington, which is the Associated Press of the Soviet Union.

Dr. Wirt, on examination by the committee, alleges that these six were the ones who had given him the information upon which he based the remarks made in his manuscript, which was read before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives by James Rand, Jr.; that they were present at a dinner on September 1, 1933, at the home of Miss Alice Barrows, of Virginia; that Miss Kneeland made the greater part of the statement, and that Miss Taylor and Mr. Todd made some of the remarks contained in the statement.

The committee, after hearing Dr. Wirt, adjourned, to meet in the caucus room of the Old House Office Building on Tuesday, April 14, 1934, at 10 a.m., at which time and place the committee reconvened and proceeded to examine under oath Miss Alice Barrows, Miss Hildegard Kneeland, Miss Mary Taylor, Robert Bruere, David Cushman Coyle, and Mr. Lawrence Todd. Miss Barrows, Miss Kneeland, Miss Taylor, Mr. Bruere, Mr. Coyle, and Mr. Todd, under direct and cross examination, admitted that Dr. Wirt was present at the supper on September 1, 1933, but denied that any one of those present made any such statements as were attributed to them by Dr. Wirt.

In the testimony given by Dr. Wirt before the committee on April 10, he stated that he had come to Washington at the request of Dr.

Robert Kohn, who was the head of the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, and had a conversation with these and other gentlemen as to subsistence homesteads, and that he disagreed with them on their views on this matter. But the evidence clearly shows that no one there present made any statement which could have been by any interpretation the part of the manuscript read by Mr. Rand to the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House.

Dr. Wirt further testified at the hearing on April 10 that Gen. William A. Westervelt, of Chicago, had talked to him during the year, but the committee advised that this conversation of Dr. Wirt's with General Westervelt was during the month of March 1934; and that Dr. Wirt had had the manuscript, a portion of which was read to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, by Mr. James H. Rand, Jr., copyrighted, and it was dated March 17, and it was mailed out at or about that time, and that no part of this alleged statement could possibly have been connected with the Rand report. That, furthermore, there were portions of this manuscript, containing what was stated by Rand, mailed out some time prior to the 17th of March. These were printed and not typewritten, and General Westervelt is not in the employment of the United States Government.

While the names of Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace; Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Rexford G. Tugwell; Mr. Frederick C. Howe, Consumers' Council; and other persons were named during the course of the hearing by Dr. Wirt, and by members of the committee that Dr. Wirt testified that he had not spoken to any of those named; and that he had given to the committee the names or all of the persons with whom he had spoken and the substance of all conversation he had with them.

The committee decided that it was unnecessary to examine any other witnesses than those who were present at the dinner as alleged by Dr. Wirt, as a source of information from such witnesses. Upon the evidence both of Dr. Wirt and of the witnesses examined, the committee is of the opinion and reports to the House, as required under the resolution, that the testimony given at the hearing, and all facts and circumstances connected therewith, clearly show that the statements made by Dr. William A. Wirt in the manuscript which was quoted by James H. Rand, Jr., before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, were not true, and that the five persons in the employ of the United States Government and the newspaper correspondent, who were present at the dinner in Virginia on September 1, 1933, did not make any such statements as were alleged to have been made by them to Dr. Wirt.

From all of the evidence presented to the committee there was none whatever showing that there was any person or group in the Government service planning to "overthrow the existing social order" or planning or doing any of the things mentioned in Dr. Wirt's statement.

In view of the findings herein set forth, the committee is of the opinion that no further action be taken in the matter and therefore reports without recommendation.

A. L. BULWINKLE, *Chairman.*
JOHN J. O'CONNOR.
WILLIAM W. ARNOLD.

APRIL 26, 1934.

MINORITY VIEWS

[The minority in presenting their views determined to set them forth in two parts. Mr. McGugin prepared the detailed statement. To this Mr. Lehlbach appended a brief summary.]

(By Mr. McGugin)

We cannot join in the majority report. The committee has not met its responsibility as directed by the House in House Resolution 317, enacted by the House of Representatives on March 29, 1934. On the contrary, we report that the committee has by a studied effort deliberately refrained from obtaining the information which it was directed to obtain by such resolution. We further report that the committee has not only deliberately refrained from obtaining such information but has deliberately suppressed the obtaining of such information.

The information which the committee was required to obtain by House Resolution 317 is set forth in section 2 of said resolution. By this section, the committee was required by the House to ascertain two things: First, who told Dr. William A. Wirt that there is a deliberately planned revolution and that certain employees of the Government are attempting to thwart the program of national recovery in the United States; and, second, who is connected in any way with said activities, to wit, carrying on a deliberately planned revolution and attempting to thwart the program of national recovery.

The committee, by the vote of the three majority members, deliberately ignored and refused to consider this second requirement. In support of our statement that there were these two requirements upon the committee, we here set forth section 2 of the resolution. In doing so we shall divide this section into subsections A and B. The section is as follows:

SECTION 2 (SUBSECTION A).—The committee is authorized and directed to summon Dr. William A. Wirt, of Gary, Ind., before it, and to require him to reveal the source of statements he has made to the effect that the United States is in the process "of a deliberately planned revolution", and to the effect that certain officials or employees of the Government are attempting to thwart the program of national recovery in the United States; and the committee is authorized and directed to bring before it all officials or other persons alleged by Dr. Wirt to have given him said information,

or—

SUBSECTION B.—* * * *to be connected in any way with said activities*, and to examine them as to the truth or falsity of the statements made by Dr. Wirt; and to summon and examine such other witnesses and make such further investigation in connection with such statements and the reasons and persons actuating the same as the committee in its discretion may deem advisable.

The majority members of this committee, by their votes and conduct in the holding of the hearings and by their majority report, deliberately ignored and refused to consider subsection B of section 2 of the resolution. There can be no question but that the committee was required to subpoena and call in witnesses to ascertain what, if any,

public officials were connected with said activities, to wit, "carrying out a deliberately planned revolution or attempting to thwart the program of a national recovery." Whether or not such people had talked with Dr. Wirt was entirely immaterial.

As proof that our construction of the resolution passed by the House as to the responsibility of the committee to call not only witnesses who talked with Dr. Wirt but to call any and all others in order to ascertain the true information as to whether or not there is anyone in the Government connected with such said subversive activities, we cite the proceedings in the House of Representatives on pages 5917 and 5918 of the Congressional Record of March 29, 1934.

When this resolution was before the House, Mr. McGugin, of Kansas, took the position that the resolution was ambiguous and that the committee would use it for the purpose of suppressing truth rather than for the purpose of ascertaining truth. Mr. McGugin said:

This resolution is a "cover-up." It is a cowardly effort to smother the issues presented by the Dr. Wirt letter. This letter of Dr. Wirt does not present a mere personality. It presents the broad issue of whether or not there are those connected with the administration who are committed to philosophies of government wholly contrary to the Republic under the Constitution.

In answer to this statement of Mr. McGugin on the floor of the House, Mr. Byrns, Democratic leader in the House, scorned the statement by Mr. McGugin that the resolution restricted the inquiry to the mere statements of Dr. Wirt. Mr. Byrns, in speaking of the resolution, said:

* * * it undertakes to direct the committee to bring before it all officials or other persons alleged by Dr. Wirt to have given him this information: "or to be connected in any way with said activity." In addition to that it provides:

"And to summon and examine such other witnesses and make such further investigation in connection with such statements and the reasons and persons actuating the same as the committee in its discretion may deem advisable."

How much broader could this resolution be made? Talk about its being cowardly! A Democratic Congress, a Democratic committee, I say to the gentleman, has proposed this investigation to find those persons, if they exist in this administration, who are acting treasonably toward our Government.

There is no disposition to cover up anything. On the contrary we want brought to the attention of the public and the country those persons who are guilty of that sort of conduct. We want to bring them into the open so that they can be dealt with as the law provides, and also dealt with by the administration as seems necessary and proper under the circumstances.

Mr. MAPES. Just as a matter of interpretation of the language which was discussed somewhat in the Committee on Rules, I would like to ask the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee if it is his interpretation of the last clause of section 2 that this committee will be empowered under that clause to call anyone it sees fit to call, who may have information as to whether or not there are men answering the description of the charges made by Dr. Wirt in the Government services?

Mr. BYRNS. I do not think there is any question about it, because it distinctly says, "such other witnesses and make such further investigation in connection with such statements and the reasons and persons actuating the same as the committee in its discretion may deem advisable." I do not see how the resolution could possibly have been made broader in its scope.

After the Democratic leader in the House placed this interpretation upon a resolution, introduced by a Democratic member and presented to the House by a Democratic Rules Committee, the House of Representatives had a right to and did accept and pass the resolution, believing in the sincerity of this interpretation by Mr. Byrns.

As soon as the resolution was passed and the committee was appointed by the Speaker, the first act of the committee by the vote of the 3 Democratic members, over the protest and votes of the 2 minority members, was to pass a resolution limiting the first day's hearing to the testimony of Dr. Wirt with Dr. Wirt's testimony limited to the specific question of naming the people with whom he talked and setting forth their specific conversation. Thereafter the majority members of the committee, over the protest and vote of the minority members, limited the second day's hearing to the bringing before the committee the six specific witnesses with whom Dr. Wirt talked at a particular party and refused to call any other witnesses that were named by Dr. Wirt in his testimony.

Following the Byrns' interpretation of the resolution, to wit, "it undertakes to direct the committee to bring before it all officials or other persons alleged by Dr. Wirt to have given him this information", the committee respected this part of the Byrns' interpretation of the resolution and then at all times completely ignored and disregarded the following part of the Byrns' interpretation which is verbatim a part of the resolution "or to be connected in any way with said activity."

As further evidence that the majority members of the committee used this hearing for the avowed purpose of discrediting the witness Dr. Wirt and suppressing the truth with no reasonable desire or effort to obtain the truth, we point out the following:

First, Dr. Wirt was denied the opportunity in his own way to make his opening statement. When the majority members denied to Dr. Wirt this opportunity, they denied to him a right and a privilege which has been enjoyed by all of the hundreds and thousands of witnesses who have ever appeared before congressional committees, House or Senate.

Second, it denied to the minority members the right to call a single witness whom they designated or chose to call before the committee. In doing this the committee again repudiated all the precedents of congressional investigations. In doing so the majority members made it inevitable that the proceedings would be a suppression of the truth rather than an uncovering of the truth. As an illustration, what would have the Teapot Dome investigation amounted to if the majority members of the committee investigating those transactions had denied to Senator Walsh, a minority member, the right to call before the committee to examine under oath any and all witnesses whom he chose to call?

The proceedings of a congressional hearing which limit the calling of witnesses to the majority members of the committee exclusively will inevitably suppress justice and truth just as a proceeding in court which would permit only one litigant to call witnesses would produce a perversion of truth.

Not only did the majority members refuse to permit the minority members to call witnesses to determine whether or not there were those in the Government service who were connected in any way with such subversive activities, but they refused to permit the minority members to call witnesses specifically named by Dr. Wirt, which witnesses could give the true testimony as to whether or not Frederick Howe, a high official in the Government, was doing everything within his power to retard the recovery program.

Dr. Wirt specifically said that General Westervelt, a former official in the Agriculture Department, had told him (Wirt) that Frederick Howe had made the following statement to him (Westervelt):

Is there any way by which we can stop feeding them? We are going too slowly. If we could stop feeding them, we would make greater headway toward what we are trying to accomplish.

Of course, this statement standing before the committee upon the testimony of Dr. Wirt that he was told this by General Westervelt is mere hearsay; however, the testimony on this subject directly from General Westervelt and Frederick Howe would be direct testimony and would not be hearsay. The majority in its determined effort to suppress truth chose to leave it as hearsay testimony and refused to call or permit the minority members to call General Westervelt and Mr. Howe before the committee.

There is only one interpretation which can be placed upon this statement of Mr. Howe by General Westervelt and that is "so long as the Government feeds the hungry it will be impossible to accomplish a violent overthrow of government." It is an axiom of the revolutionist that the people must be made hungry in order to goad them into a violent overthrow of established order.

The refusal of the majority members to permit the minority members to call either Frederick Howe or General Westervelt before the committee to prove or disprove that this statement was made by Mr. Howe leaves but one logical conclusion as to the motive of the majority members of the committee. That conclusion is that they were fearful or believed that the complete truth of this statement would be established, and having been established, every citizen of the land would know that it was the designed purpose of Frederick Howe, Consumers' counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, to retard recovery for the purpose of bringing about a revolution. Such proof would have completely substantiated the original statement made by Dr. Wirt.

The minority members made their appeal to the majority members to have Arthur Morgan, H. A. Morgan, and David Lilienthal, Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority; Harold Ickes, Public Works Administrator; and Harry Hopkins, Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, subpoenaed to appear before the committee. By their votes the three majority members refused to permit these five public officials to be brought before the committee. The minority members informed the majority members that if they were permitted to bring these witnesses before the committee that they would show the following:

First, that the three Tennessee Valley Authority Directors had organized subsidiary corporations with the stock in said corporations to be owned by the Government of the United States and the corporations chartered to engage in the business of producing, processing, and selling farm crops and livestock; manufacturing and selling goods, wares, and merchandise of every description; lending money to any person, firm, or corporation with or without security; borrowing money without limit as to amount and speculating and dealing in the stocks and bonds of any other corporation. The minority members further informed the majority members that it would be disclosed that these three directors in organizing these corporations are proceeding without any authority of law.

The minority members further informed the majority members that if Harold Ickes were subpoenaed before the committee that it would be shown that he had taken money from Public Works funds and used it to purchase the stock in such a corporation, and that Harry Hopkins had taken money from the Federal Emergency Relief fund and used it to purchase stock in another such corporation.

That it would be further disclosed that Harold Ickes and Harry Hopkins with the purchasing of stock with such funds were acting without authority of law. That when it was disclosed that these 5 Government officials were doing these acts without authority of law that it would then be established that here were 5 high officials in the executive branch of the Government who were overthrowing the Republic under the Constitution so far as these acts are concerned, because they were deliberately proceeding without any regard for laws enacted by the Congress in accordance with the Constitution of the United States.

Dr. Wirt in his direct testimony brought to the attention of the committee various public statements of the Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Prof. Rexford G. Tugwell. Among such statements were the following:

We have a century and more of development to undo.

It is, in other words, a logical impossibility to have a planned economy and to have business operating its industries just as it is also impossible to have one with our present constitutional and statutory structure. Modifications in both, so serious as to mean destruction and rebeginning, are required.

He also brought to the attention of the committee that it was the publicly expressed theory of Professor Tugwell that a planned economy required three great changes; first, breaking down the present statutes and constitutions of the Government; second, destroying private business; and, third, destroying the sovereignty of the States, and that Professor Tugwell after setting forth these three requirements in one of his public speeches boldly stated:

All three of these wholesale changes are required by even a limited acceptance of the planning idea.

These expressed theories of Professor Tugwell were brought to the attention of the committee by Dr. Wirt when he cited to the committee the professor's speech before the American Economic Association on December 28, 1931.

The minority members requested that Professor Tugwell be subpoenaed before the committee. Their request was voted down by the three majority members. It is our belief that all will concede that the A.A.A. and the N.R.A. are at least a "limited acceptance of the planning idea." We wanted to ascertain from Professor Tugwell under oath the information as to whether or not as Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, he is administering his duties in keeping with his previous expressed ideas, as to the requirements for a limited acceptance of planning. If so, we wanted to know if in the administering of his duties, he is, in fact, doing what he can to break down the present statutes and constitutions of government, to destroy private business as it has heretofore existed and to destroy the sovereignty of the States. We wanted to know from him if in the administering of his present duties he is attempting to modify business and our present constitutional and statutory structure so as to mean destruction and rebeginning of both business and government.

The minority members insisted that they had the right and that it was the duty of the committee to call such officials before the committee under the mandate of the House set forth in subsection B of section 2 of the resolution and as the resolution was interpreted by Mr. Byrns, the majority leader of the House.

Before the hearings of the committee, Dr. Wirt first appeared and named six people who were with him at a dinner party in Virginia. He related the conversation which was had with these other six people. Thereafter, these six people were called before the committee. They denied that any of them had made the statements which Dr. Wirt had quoted them as having made. These 6 witnesses told the committee under oath that in a conversation which lasted from 4 to 5 hours Dr. Wirt did all the talking and that the only statement made by any of the remaining 6 was that 1 of the 6, Miss Kneeland, uttered the one sentence which was in substance that she did not believe in restoring the 1926 price level. It must be remembered that it was relatively easy for these six people to tell the same story when that story was confined to the repeating of one sentence offered by one person. Likewise, it must be remembered that it would have been exceedingly difficult for each member of the party to have told exactly what was said by various members present unless their testimony was confined exclusively to the truth.

The majority members in their report find that the statements made by Dr. Wirt were untrue. For two reasons, we cannot join in this finding of the majority report:

First, we do not believe that there was a 5-hour conversation among 7 people in which 1 person did all the talking with the exception of 1 of the remaining 6 uttering one sentence. We believe that the remaining 6 in testifying that nothing more was said than one sentence by 1 of them forces the logical conclusion that they must have said that which Dr. Wirt quoted them as having said. Otherwise, they would have told what they actually did say at this party instead of giving the preposterous and unreasonable testimony that of the entire 6 all that was said by any of them was one sentence by 1 person.

Second, that the one sentence which was in substance that Miss Kneeland said that she opposed returning to the 1926 level is in and of itself proof of a determined effort on the part of some connected with the executive department of the Government to thwart the recovery program of the administration. It will be remembered that times without number the President and others high in the administration have offered as the goal of recovery the 1926 price level.

The majority members of the committee in accepting the testimony of these six witnesses and denouncing the testimony of Dr. Wirt disclose their determination in this proceeding to protect and exonerate those who were not in sympathy with traditional American government under the constitution.

Be it remembered that from the testimony of these witnesses, it was disclosed by a part of them that they had been members of and contributors to the American Civil Liberties Union. Further it was brought out at this hearing that this was an organization about which the New York State Legislature in 1928 made the following report:

The American Civil Liberties Union, in the last analysis, is a contributor of all subversive movements. Its propaganda is detrimental to the interests of the

State. It attempts not only to protect crime but encourages attacks upon our institutions in every form.

In 1931 a special committee of the House of Representatives made a report which was signed by 2 Republicans and 2 Democrats. In this report this House committee quoted this finding of the New York State Legislature and reported the following:

Your committee concurs in the above finding.

It was further disclosed from said witnesses that one of them, Robert Bruere, who now holds an important Government position in the N.R.A., in connection with the cotton-textile industry, was in 1918 and 1922 an avowed defender of the I.W.W. and a severe critic of the Department of Justice under the Wilson administration for its conduct toward the I.W.W. during the war.

It was further disclosed that another one of these witnesses, David Cushman Coyle, an important official in the Public Works Administration, frequently in public addresses refers to Al Smith and other similar personalities as mere "intellectual casualties of the depression."

Be it further remembered that another one of these witnesses has for years been a news correspondent with Communist newspapers in the United States among the users of his writings; that he is now in the employ of the Soviet Government as a Washington correspondent for the Tass News Agency; and that this agency is owned, controlled, and operated by the Soviet Government.

Yet these are the people—whose preposterous story that in a 5-hour conversation their sole statements consisted of one sentence uttered by one of them—who are protected by the majority report. Not only does the majority report protect them and their statements by placing upon them the stamp of truth, but upon that statement the majority report places the stamp of falsehood upon the testimony of Dr. Wirt.

As further evidence of the determined effort of the majority members of this committee to disregard Dr. Wirt and his testimony even at the cost of defending communism, I refer to this statement in the majority report:

Lawrence Todd is a correspondent for the Tass Agency in Washington, which is the "Associated Press" of the Soviet Union.

This statement in the majority report shows that the majority members are not only determined to protect this writer, who for many years wrote for communist newspapers in the United States and who is now employed as correspondent for the Soviet Government, but are willing to do so by boldly taking respectability from the Associated Press of the United States and lending it to the subversive communistic propaganda agency of the Tass Service.

The evidence disclosed that the Tass Agency is owned and financed by the Soviet Government. Such was the testimony before the committee by Mr. Todd, yet the majority members in their report would undertake to draw a similarity between the Tass Agency and the Associated Press. Here is the difference. The Associated Press is privately owned and operated by various newspapers of the United States. It is a news agency entirely independent of the Government of the United States and operates under no governmental censorship. It operates under the freedom of the press guarantee of the Constitution

of the United States, while the Tass Agency, owned and controlled by the Soviet Government, is in no sense an honest news agency but is a mere communistic propaganda agency of the Soviet Government.

The majority report of this committee is in perfect keeping with what apparently was a determined effort throughout the entire proceedings to discredit Dr. Wirt and to suppress the truth.

In support of this statement, we offer the following:

First, the Speaker of the House was reported in the press as having said that if Dr. Wirt would not testify that he would be put in jail. That statement was made before Dr. Wirt appeared before the committee and when he had made no statement that he would not testify. We submit that such a statement could serve no purpose other than either to intimidate or discredit the witness previous to his appearance before the committee.

Second, the statement was made on the floor of the House by the chairman of the committee that Dr. Wirt had been in jail for disloyalty during the war. This statement was not true and was not retracted until 5 days after the statement was made.

Third, a day or two after Dr. Wirt testified, the Secretary of the Interior was reported in the press as having stated that Dr. Wirt had endeavored wrongfully to obtain Public Works money for his own selfish benefit. The statement was refuted by Dr. Wirt. It was refuted by those who made application for the loan with the statement that Dr. Wirt has no interest whatever in the making of the application or obtaining favorable consideration of it.

An effort has been made to discredit this hearing and the testimony of Dr. Wirt by inferring that the people with whom he conversed were minor personalities and of no consequence in the administration. This is not true. Five of them hold important key positions in various departments of the Government and are the oracles of those who are controlling government. The sixth one is an important and direct employee of the Soviet Government. It is significant that these five people holding key positions in our Government should be in such close social relationship with Lawrence Todd, one of the foremost propaganda agents of the Soviet Government in America. Let us call the roll of these five who hold key positions in the Government.

First, Miss Barrows is an educational expert in the Department of the Interior. It is through the schools that frequently insidious propaganda is disseminated.

Second, Miss Kneeland is head of the Bureau of Home Economics in the Agriculture Department. Her Department puts out scores of bulletins which furnish the ideal means of disseminating propaganda. From her own testimony she is bitterly opposed to returning to the 1926 level. Supposedly the Agriculture Department is to work for the welfare of the American farmers. There is not a farmer in a thousand but who would be immeasurably pleased to trade present conditions for 1926 conditions. Wheat was then \$1.40 a bushel. It is now worth 75 cents a bushel. While it is supposedly her duty to work for the interest of the farmers, yet, Bulletin 296, published by her Department, advocates a reduction in the consumption of wheat. This bulletin has been given wide publicity. Everyone who reads it is being propagandized to consume less wheat which is produced by the American farmers. From her testimony, it is obviously her

primary interest to socialize America rather than to increase the prosperity of the farmers.

Miss Taylor, from her testimony, is editor in chief of a publication which is put out by the office of the Consumers' Counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. From her testimony, she admitted that this magazine contained propaganda advocating planned agriculture. It is significant, that while this publication advocates planned agriculture nothing is said in the publication about the fact that Dr. Tugwell has expressed the views that we cannot have even a "limited acceptance of planning" without changing constitutions and laws once and for all, destroying business as we have known it and destroying the sovereignty of the Government. On the contrary, these requirements for a planned agriculture are insidiously kept away from the farmers in this publication while the farmers are being propagandized with the thought that they will receive profits from a planned agriculture.

It is perfectly obvious that Miss Kneeland and Miss Taylor in charge of these propaganda agencies are merely reflecting the true views of Secretary Wallace; Assistant Secretary Tugwell; Jerome Frank, counsel for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; and Frederick Howe, consumers' counsel of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. These men whose thoughts they reflect are in complete control of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

Another witness was Robert Bruere. From his testimony, it was disclosed that he was a defender of the I.W.W. and a critic of the Department of Justice under the Wilson Administration for its attitude toward the I.W.W. and their war conduct. He is now in a key position in the N.R.A. In his position he has much control over the cotton-textile industry.

The fifth witness, David Cushman Coyle, holds an important key position in the office of the Public Works Administration. He is obviously an oracle of the Public Works Administrator, Secretary Ickes. He is constantly making public speeches propagandizing for the "new deal". His views are reflected in his recent speech in Washington before the Nurses' Association. In that speech, among other things, the press reports him as having said:

Everything which we were taught in school is actually wrong. Thrift is no longer a virtue. Saving for a rainy day makes it rain all the harder.

Considering the positions which these five witnesses hold, it is obviously clear that they typify and reflect the views of superiors who are in direct control of the Government. This is a fact which would have been completely substantiated by direct testimony except that the majority members of the committee voted down the request of the minority members to call before the committee their immediate superiors, to wit, Secretary Wallace; Assistant Secretary Tugwell; Jerome Frank, Counsel for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; Frederick Howe, Consumers' Counsel of the A.A.A.; Secretary of the Interior Ickes; and Donald Richberg, counsel for the N.R.A.

(By Mr. Lehlbach)

The charges of Dr. William A. Wirt, which formed the basis of this inquiry, may be summarized as follows:

Certain persons in positions of influence and authority in the administration hold these beliefs:

The depression demonstrates that the political, economical, and social organization of our country, heretofore accepted as the embodiment of American traditions and ideals, is inadequate to insure the temporal well-being and security of the people. The concept that American men and women constitute a free people must be scrapped.

In its stead must be erected a planned economy wherein the everyday activities of American citizens in agriculture, industry, transportation, merchandising, and other pursuits, including labor, are controlled and regimented by the Government, functioning through numerous bureaus. It necessarily follows that remuneration for such activities and the wealth invested therein likewise are in the control of the Government, even if the naked title to such properties is left in the present owners.

Inasmuch as the Constitution of the United States is the keystone of the arch supporting the concept of a free people, its provisions must be disregarded and allowed to fall into desuetude.

Dr. Wirt further charges that these persons holding the opinions above set forth are using their positions in the administration to draft measures, ostensibly temporary in character and purported to accelerate present recovery, which in effect operate to further the regimented economy plan. Such measures necessarily retard immediate economic improvement, which is all right with the economic planners, because the more serious the plight of the people the more readily will they submit to the proposed new order.

No suggestion was advanced that any such persons contemplate physical violence or that the established agencies of the Government be forcibly overthrown.

This, in substance, is the contention of Dr. Wirt, the truth of which this committee was created to probe. The committee limited its activities to an attempt to ascertain the sources of information upon which Dr. Wirt based his statement.

This was an utterly futile proceeding. Every well-informed person knows from the speeches, published writings, and radio addresses of Government officials constituting what is commonly known as the "brain trust" that their political, economic, and social philosophy is substantially as set forth by Dr. Wirt.

This committee is not authorized to sit in judgment upon the relative merits of the old order of a free people or a Government-regulated mode of American life. Under a broad, common-sense construction of the resolution creating the committee, we were commissioned to investigate whether Government officials, believing in a socialized American order, were so functioning as to facilitate its establishment. In short, what are the purposes of the "brain trust" and what are they doing about it?

This the American people are entitled to know. This it was not only the privilege but the duty of the committee to ascertain.

Unfortunately, the committee booted away its opportunity.

We therefore take the position that the committee has not performed its duties under the resolution and that the committee should be directed by the House to proceed to complete its duties under the resolution.



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